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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM  
THE REVOLUTION,  
TO THE  
END OF THE AMERICAN WAR,  
AND  
PEACE OF VERSAILLES IN 1783.  
IN SIX VOLUMES.

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DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.

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BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

—  
VOL. VI.  
—

*Comprehending the American Part,*  
A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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# CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

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**H**AVING, in the preceding part of this history, taken a view of the transactions in America, to the unfortunate catastrophe which put an end to all further operations of consequence in that quarter, we must now give an account of the manner in which affairs were conducted betwixt Britain and her other grand adversary France.

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1778.

March 17.

House of  
Commons.

The message from the French monarch to the king of Britain, in which the former announced his intention of supporting the American independence, had excited a general resentment throughout the kingdom. It was announced to Parliament on the 17th of March, 1778. But though this was the time of its formal intimation to that august Assembly, the existence of the treaty between France and America had been generally known some time before. The minister (Lord North) had given notice the preceding day, that he should have occasion to present a message from his Majesty to the House on the morrow; to which Mr. Grenville replied, that he believed the subject was already anticipated by the House; but, that gentlemen might have proper information, and not be tied down to vote for any particular measures by their answer, he would move for "an address to lay before the House copies or extracts of all communications from his Majesty's ambassador at the court of France, or the French ambassador at this court, touching any treaty of alliance, confederacy, or commerce entered into between that court and the revolted Colonies in North America." This motion, as well as every other relative to the laying of papers before the Commons, proved disagreeable to the minister. On a division, it was rejected by 231 to 146.

The French Declaration was accompanied by a message from his Majesty, in which he acquainted the House, that, in consequence of that offensive communication, he had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from the court of France. Then stating the justice and good faith of his own conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, he trusted that he should not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and unjust an attack on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the laws of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign in Europe. The message concluded with a declaration, that "his Majesty, relying, with the firmest confidence, on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, was determined to be prepared to exert, should it come to be necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms, which, he trusted, would be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country."

The minister moved an address in answer to this message, which, as usual, contained a mere assent and repe-

tion of every part of it, concluding with the strongest assurances that no considerations would divert or deter them from standing forth in the public defence, and from sustaining, with a steady perseverance, any extraordinary burdens and expences which should be found necessary for enabling his Majesty to vindicate the honour of his crown, and to protect the just rights and essential interests of these kingdoms.

Notwithstanding the general disposition of the nation, however, at present, for a French war, this address was as violently disputed as any other which had ever been proposed. An amendment was proposed by Mr. Baker, for inserting, after the words "assurances of support," the following sentence, viz. "Hoping and trusting, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to remove from his councils those ministers, in whose conduct, from experience of the pernicious effects of their former measures, his people can place no confidence in the present momentous situation of public affairs." This motion was seconded by sir George Yonge.

Besides the usual declamations on the subject of American affairs, those gentlemen dwelt very much on the glaring and criminal instance, as they termed it, of incapacity or negligence, in not being able, in time of profound peace, and when intelligence was procurable by a private gentleman, to discover the designs or transactions of the court of France, until they were put in actual force and open avowal against us. But, if they were acquainted with these circumstances, they were still more criminal in not having taken a single step to prevent the consequences arising from such a dangerous alliance. It was in vain, they said, to think of calling forth the spirit of the nation by men who had lost all confidence with the people: they were universally and justly considered as an administration full of imbecility and deceit; no honest and disinterested man would venture to entrust them with his property; and it was no detraction to their character to say, that they were not more detested at home than despised and derided by foreigners. They concluded by asserting, that it was a knowledge of the present weakness and instability of our councils, and the continued misconduct of ministers, that had encouraged the House of Bourbon to offer us this insult; and that the single measure of removing the present ministers would strike more terror into the enemies of this country than all the warlike preparations we were capable of making under the present notorious imbecility of our councils and measures.

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In answer to this heavy charge, the minister avowed his intention of keeping his place at all events. The interest of the empire, no less than his pride and sense of honour, now rendered his continuance in office absolutely necessary. He could see but little foundation for the present alarm. The fall of the stocks, which had been so much insisted upon, was merely the effect of a sudden panic, the usual concomitant of an incipient war. The apparent backwardness to fill the loan, which had the present year been remarkable, he attributed rather to the magnitude of the national debt than to the near approach of a war. Great Britain had always been so punctual in the payment of the interest of her creditors, that she could never want money for the public service. The dread of an invasion was a mere bugbear; and if it should take place, the nation would have but little reason to fear the consequence. Our navy never was, at the commencement of a war, in so flourishing a condition as at present: The new levies were nearly completed; and that the nation might be entirely easy on this subject, his Majesty intended to recur to that constitutional mode of defence which was so great a favourite with the other side of the House, viz. the drawing out and embodying the militia.—On putting the question, the address, without amendment, was carried by 263 to 113.

House of  
Lords.

In the house of Lords, upon a similar address being moved for by Lord Weymouth, administration were reprobated in terms still more explicit than in the Commons. The Duke of Manchester declared, that, however great the provocation given by France might be, he must notwithstanding, totally oppose the address, if the approaching war was to be conducted by the same persons who had been the authors of so many calamities; men, he said, in whose hands nothing could succeed, and in whom it would be madness to confide. Every step towards the national ruin had been exactly foretold, even to the important business of the present day. Ministers had received continual communications of such facts and circumstances as seemed sufficient to open the eyes of the most obstinate and incredulous; but, in spite of facts and circumstances, they unhappily got majorities to support them against the strongest convictions of probability and common sense. He then moved for an amendment similar to that which has been already taken notice of in the House of Commons.

In the present debate, the Lords in Opposition made heavy complaints of some "secret invisible power," which, for several years, they said, had guided all the state movements, and was the real efficient cause of all the calamities which had befallen the nation. This was the crying



evil, and the great grievance to be provided against. This unconstitutional suberviency had been established through the shameful and base servility of ministers; and whoever resisted the secret, concealed impulse, however able or willing to serve the state, was proscribed; as, on the contrary, whoever obeyed it, let his defects of qualification be what they would, was immediately patronised and promoted to the first and most responsible offices.

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The minister who had moved for the address, declined entering into any particular defence of himself. A formal defence, he said, should be reserved for a formal accusation. As to the "secret influence" talked of, the King's ministers knew of none. They had done their duty upon their own opinions. If these opinions were honest, though erroneous, they should be pardoned; if just and well founded, they ought to meet with support and applause. If their conduct was faulty, they would deserve punishment; and they were ready courageously to support their own conduct in their own persons, and to abide the just sense of the House, without skulking behind the Throne or Parliament, or exculpating themselves upon the idea of any secret influence whatever.—A few other lords, who entered into the debate in favour of administration, condemned the amendment in general as unprecedented and indecent. It would, they said, be offering a direct insult to the Sovereign; and it would be equally injurious and unjust to his servants, to condemn them by a hasty and rash censure, before they were heard in their own defence. The failure of their plans was by no means a proof of their inability or misconduct. It might have proceeded from innumerable circumstances with which they were unacquainted; and as no wisdom or ability could command success, its failure consequently could not, without farther evidence, imply any room for censure.

Some of the lords on the side of Opposition, objected greatly to the passionate and inflammatory expressions made use of in the message, and which were approved and repeated in the address. They were, in effect, nothing less than a declaration of war, when the nation was in no state of preparation to abide the consequences. How is war to be avoided? The answer, they said, was short. The only object of a war with France must be the recovery of America. Make peace with America, by acknowledging its independence, and the object of the war is at an end.—This measure was considered by the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Richmond, and most of that party, as the only means of saving the nation. But in this Opposition were not unanimous; Earls Chatham,

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Operations  
in the West  
Indies.

Temple, and Shelburn, being of opinion, that to acknowledge the independence of America, would be the utter ruin and degradation of this country.—The address, without amendment, was carried by a majority of 100 to 36.

Whilst the British Senate were thus spending their time in fruitless, and, in fact, disgraceful altercations, the French, as we have already related, had determined effectually to support their new allies by sending a strong squadron under the Count d'Estaing to their assistance, not doubting that he would be able, not only to afford an effectual aid to the Colonists, but to reduce some of the West India Islands, with the weak state of which the cabinet of France seemed to be better acquainted than that of Britain.—The egregious miscarriages of that commander at Rhode Island have already been taken notice of; it now remains to give an account of his exploits in the West Indies.

Admiral  
Byron sent  
to oppose  
d'Estaing.

In order to oppose the designs of d'Estaing, a strong squadron, under Admiral Byron, had been dispatched from England for the coasts of America. The sailing of these however, had been so long delayed, and they had suffered so much by adverse weather during the voyage, that though the greatest part of them had arrived at New York before the admiral himself, who gained that port about the middle of September, they had been so far from being able to attempt any thing against d'Estaing, that the whole British marine in these parts had been in imminent danger of being destroyed by his fleet. Nor was Admiral Byron more fortunate after his arrival. He seemed still to be persecuted by weather of the same kind that had hitherto damaged his squadron so much. He had scarcely appeared before Boston, when he was driven off the coast by a violent hurricane, in which the ships again suffered so much, that they were glad to get into Rhode Island for shelter; nor was he able to put to sea again before the 14th of December, long before which the French admiral had set sail from Boston for the West Indies.

Dec. 14

In the mean time, sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that no essential service could be performed on the continent during the winter season, and justly apprehensive of the danger to which the West India Islands were exposed, determined to send thither a force sufficient for their protection. A detachment of 5000 excellent troops, under Major General Grant, were, therefore, put on board sixty transports, escorted by five men of war, a bomb-vessel, and some frigates, under Commodore Hotham; and set sail from Sandy Hook the very day that d'Estaing sailed from Boston. As the two fleets steered the same

Hotham and  
Grant sent  
to the West  
Indies.

course, they sailed parallel, and very near for a considerable way, without having any knowledge of each others motions; an accident very fortunate for the British squadron, which would otherwise have been in great danger from the superior force of d'Estaing. They were farther protected by a violent gale of wind, which dispersed the French fleet; though, by the superior skill of the British seamen, Commodore Hotham's was kept together, and, having thus got the start of the French admiral, arrived first at Barbadoes, before Admiral Byron had been able to quit Rhode Island.

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From this place an expedition was undertaken against St Lucia, and put in execution with such rapidity, that the troops were not suffered to land.—On the 13th of December, they reached the place of their destination, when the reserve of the army, consisting of the 5th regiment, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the whole, under the command of Brigadier General Meadows, were landed at the Grand Cul-de-Sac in the evening. They immediately pushed forward to the heights on the north side of the bay, which were occupied by the Chevalier de Micond, the French commandant, with the regular forces and militia of the island; which posts, though naturally very strong, were soon taken; at the same time, they destroyed a four-gun battery, and took a field piece which had very much annoyed them during their landing. In the morning, this body was supported by General Prescott with five regiments, who immediately advanced, and took possession of the little capital of Morne Fortune; the governor of which, the Chevalier de Micond, not being possessed of any force able to cope with that of the British now on the island, was compelled to retire from post to post as the enemy advanced.

Dec 13.

St Lucia taken, and d'Estaing repulsed,

The last French flag which appeared among the hills had scarcely been struck, when d'Estaing, with a force vastly superior to that of the British commanders, was discovered bearing directly down upon the island. Besides his own squadron, consisting of 12 sail of the line, he was now accompanied by a vast fleet of privateers and transports, having on board a land force of about 9000 men. A great part of these had been brought originally from France; the remainder were composed of regulars and volunteers from the French West India Islands, who, as well as the transports and cruizers, had been collected in readiness to join him at Martinico; being intended for the immediate reduction of the Grenades, and of the Island of St Vincent's, besides the expectation of completely reducing all the British leeward islands. By the way he

received intelligence of the attempt on St Lucia ; a circumstance which he considered as the most fortunate that could possibly have happened, as it seemed to afford the means of throwing the whole British force by sea and land an easy prey into his hands. Had he arrived twenty-four hours sooner, indeed, this must in all probability have been the case ; but as the day was now far advanced, he delayed beginning his operations till the morning.

By this time, however, matters were in a very different situation. The fleet were in the southren inlet, called by the French Grand Cul-de-Sac, the transports filling the interior part of the bay, and the ships of war drawn up in a line across the entrance ; which was still farther secured by a battery on the southern, and another on the northern and opposite point of land. The Careenage bay, which led upwards to the capital, lay between two and three miles to the northward of the Grand Cul-de-Sac ; and the Peninsula of the Viergie, occupied by General Meadows, formed the northern boundary of the Careenage, and covered its entrance on that side. Still farther to the northward lay Choc bay, and Gros Islet bay.

During the night the transports had been warped into the bottom of the bay, in order to be as remote from danger as possible, while the ships of war, having been brought each into its station, formed an excellent line of defence for the entrance into the bay. The marine force, at present commanded by Admiral Barrington, consisted only of his own ship, the Prince of Wales, of 74 guns, the Boyne of 70, St Albans's and Nonfuch of 64 each, the Centurion and Isis of 50 each, with three frigates. He himself took the post of honour on the outward and leeward extremity of the line ; the Isis, supported by the frigates, who flanked the passage between her and the shore, was stationed in the opposite and interior angle to windward.

All this time d'Estaing seemed to have remained in utter ignorance, not only of the real progress the British had made, but even not to have exercised his judgment in the formation of a rational conjecture about what they *might* have done. Taking it for granted, therefore, that the Viergie, and posts adjacent, were still in possession of his countrymen, he stood in with his whole fleet and transports for that bay. He was soon convinced of his mistake, however, by a well-directed fire from one of the batteries against his own ship the Languedoc ; by which he was so much disconcerted, that he not only bore away immediately, but he seemed, for some time, totally at a loss what to do. At last he bore down with ten sail of the line upon the British squadron, and a warm engagement ensued ; but

the French, finding themselves unable to make any impression on the fleet or batteries by which they were supported, were at last obliged to move off. At four in the afternoon he renewed the attack with twelve sail of the line, at which time he directed his attack more to the right, from the leeward point of the British line to its centre, by which a great proportion of the action fell upon Admiral Barrington's ship. This attack was better supported, and longer continued than the former. The cannonade was exceedingly heavy, and its whole weight concentrated within a narrower space than before. But neither the change of position, nor the additional force, were capable of rendering this effort more successful. After a long and warm engagement, the French fleet fell evidently into disorder, and retired with apparent loss, and without having been able to make the least impression on the British line.

Next day the French Admiral shewed a disposition to hazard a third attack, but at length abandoned it, and the whole fleet plied up to windward, anchoring in the evening off Gros Islet, about two leagues to the northward. That night, and the following morning d'Estaing spent in landing his troops in Choc bay, which lay between Gros Islet and the Careenage; which time was also employed by the British Admiral in preparing for every possible future event, in warping the ships of war farther within the bay, thereby to render the line more compact and firm, and in constructing new batteries on those points of land which covered the entrance. The close connection and mutual participation of danger and service, with the dependence now subsisting between the land and naval departments, united the whole so closely, that they seemed to form but one compact body; which, being farther cemented by the admirable harmony subsisting between the commanders by sea and land, raised the spirits of the men so high, that they seemed totally to forget the superiority of the enemy, with the precariousness of their own situation, as well as to be insensible of such continued duty, fatigue, and hardships, as would, in other circumstances, have appeared intolerable.

The country which was now to be the scene of action, was one of the most difficult and impracticable that can be imagined, and of consequence gave the British an immense advantage over the assailants. It presented no regular face, but a broken and confused congeries of steep and abrupt hills, scattered among greater mountains, every where intersected by narrow winding vallies, deep defiles, and difficult gullies. General Grant, with the bulk of the

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forces, occupied all the strongholds among the hills on either side of the Grand Cul-de-Sac; and commanded, by several detached posts, the ground that extended from thence to the Careenage, which lay at about two miles distance. Besides the battery at Viergie, which defended the entrance into the bay, and checked the progress of the French fleet, as we have seen, the troops possessed two other batteries near the bottom, and which were covered in front by the creek, and commanded, in a considerable degree, the land approaches to the Viergie.

In this peninsula General Meadows was shut up with 1300 men, without any possibility of a retreat; but though inclosed by an enemy so much superior in number, the advantages he derived from his situation, and the goodness of the troops were sufficient to counterbalance the odds.

Dec. 18.

On the 18th of December, 5000 of the best French troops were drawn out to attack Meadows in his post, and advanced in three columns drawn across the Isthmus that joins the peninsula to the continent. That on the right was led by d'Estaing in person; the centre by M. Lovendake; and the left by the Marquis de Bouille, Governor of Martinique. On their near approach, however, they were enfiladed by the batteries already mentioned; notwithstanding which, they rushed to the attack with all the impetuosity which characterises their nation. They were suffered to advance close to the entrenchments without opposition; during all which time, the British front line fired but once, and then received the enemy on the point of the bayonet. The fire, at so small a distance, was attended with a dreadful effect; notwithstanding which, the French supported their attack with great resolution, and did not retreat till they had suffered exceedingly. Seventy of them are said to have been killed on the entrenchment at the first onset. Not discouraged with this bad success, they renewed the attack with fresh impetuosity, but were encountered with the same resolution and determined obstinacy by the besieged; and though they had suffered extremely in these two assaults, they still returned a third time to the charge; but they were now totally routed, and obliged to retire in the greatest disorder, leaving their wounded to the mercy of the conquerors. An agreement, however, was almost instantly entered into, by which they were permitted to bury the dead, and carry off their wounded, d'Estaing having rendered himself accountable for the number of the latter as prisoners of war.

On this occasion the loss of the French was not less than 400 killed, 1100 wounded, 500 so desperately that they were rendered incapable of service. That of the British

was trifling; and though several officers were wounded, not one lost his life. D'Estaing continued, in a state of seeming irresolution, for ten days longer on the island, without forming any apparent plan, or making the smallest attempt for the recovery of it, though his marine force was hourly increased by the number of French and American privateers, which flocked from all quarters to partake of the glory, as well as expected profit of the enterprize. At last, abandoning St Lucia to its fate, he set sail on the 28th of the month, when, to add to his disgrace, the Chevalier de Micond, with the principal inhabitants, capitulated before the French fleet was out of sight; and, though they were now entirely at the mercy of the conquerors, they obtained very favourable terms.

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In other respects, however, the arms of France were attended with better success. The Island of Dominica had been ceded to the British Crown by the treaty of Paris, as part of the expences of the war of 1755; to which, however, it was by no means adequate, even when added to all the other cessions made on that account. Nevertheless, it was in itself an acquisition of considerable importance, and was rendered more so by its situation between Martinico and Guadalope. In this respect government knew its importance, and went to a great expence in fortifying it, though they seemed to have forgot, that fortifications, however strong, required men to defend them. Of this inattention the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, being apprised, landed, with about 2000 men, September 7, 1778, under cover of some privateers and frigates, with which he immediately proceeded to attack the different batteries and forts by sea, as his troops did by land. The few regular troops on the island, amounting only to about 100 men, with the militia and inhabitants in general, did all that could be expected in such circumstances; but the French having taken those detached and half-manned batteries which lay first in their way, and afterwards advanced to attack the little capital of Roseau by sea and land, which likewise comprehended the principal fortifications of the island, Lieutenant-Governor Stuart, with the military officers and council, seeing all defence fruitless, judged it necessary to capitulate, in order to save the inhabitants from plunder and ruin.—The terms were the most moderate that could be conceived; the French commander having agreed, notwithstanding the defenceless state of the place, to almost every article that had been proposed in favour of the inhabitants. Besides the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, with the fullest security to their estates, property of every sort, as well as rights,

Dominica  
taken by the  
Marquis de  
Bouille.

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privileges, and immunities, they were allowed to retain their civil and religious governments, in all their parts, with all their laws, customs, ordinances, courts, and ministers of justice, until the conclusion of the war, at which time they were to have it in their choice either to adhere to their own form of political government, or to accept of that established in the French islands. In either case, such of the inhabitants as did not chuse to continue under a French government, were to be at liberty to sell their real and personal estates, and to retire with their effects whither they pleased. In short, a mere change of sovereignty was the only change experienced by the inhabitants of Dominica. Not the least disorder or pillage was permitted; and, in lieu of plunder, the French commander rewarded his troops and volunteers with a considerable gratuity in ready money. On the island were found 164 brass cannon, and 24 brass mortars, with a considerable quantity of military stores and ammunition: the public effects, with the British vessels in the harbour, also became a prize to the conquerors. The Marquis de Bouille remained but a short time on the island, but left a garrison of 1500 men, which, with such a strength of artillery and fortification as they already possessed, left no apprehension of any future attack.

Affairs at  
home.

With the loss of Dominica on the part of Britain, and St Lucia on that of France, the military operations in the West Indies for the year 1778 were concluded.—At home matters wore a most unfavourable aspect. The vicinity of France had, as usual in cases of war with that power, produced a general fear of an invasion, at the time that the whole strength of the nation seemed requisite for the subjection of her revolted colonies, and the defence of those foreign possessions which still remained. To guard against this event, the English militia were called forth and embodied; and, being joined by the regular forces, formed camps at Winchester, Salisbury, St Edmundsbury in Suffolk, Warley Common in Essex, and Coxheath in Kent. But there was little dependence on this defence, the hope of the nation being most properly placed on that powerful navy which had been so often found to afford an effectual protection. Unhappily, however, at this critical juncture, the navy was by no means found to be in the situation held forth by ministry; and it was some time before any great force could be collected. As soon as this could be done, Admiral Keppel, whose behaviour in the former war had rendered him exceedingly popular, was appointed Commander in Chief of the fleet destined to defend this island; but on his taking upon him this important office, he, to his utter astonishment, found that there were only six sail of the

Militia embodied.



line in any condition for actual service; nor was the situation of the ships themselves, or their deficiency of men, more alarming than the want of all kinds of naval stores. On this occasion the Admiral acted with such prudence and caution as did him the highest honour. Instead of making any public complaint, which could only have increased the general alarm and apprehension, he, without any noise, urged his private applications to the Admiralty with such effect, that, by the middle of June, he was enabled to put to sea with a fleet of 20 sail of the line, and a promise of speedy reinforcement.

At the head of the fleet, Admiral Keppel sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of June, in order to protect the vast number of commercial shipping expected from all parts of the world, and at the same time to watch the motion of the French fleet at Brest.

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Admiral Keppel puts to sea with the grand fleet.

On the arrival of the British fleet off the coast of France, two French frigates approached it, in order to make their observations. These were the *Licorne* of 32 guns, and the *Belle Poule* of 26. In consequence of a signal to give chase, the *Milford* frigate overtook the *Licorne* towards the close of the day, and requested the French captain to come under the British Admiral's stern. Upon his refusal, a ship of the line came up, and compelled him to come into the fleet. Next morning, the *Licorne* seeming by her motions to be altering her course, a shot was fired across her way as a signal for keeping it. Hereupon she discharged a broadside, and a volley of small arms, into the *America* of 64 guns, that lay close to her, and immediately struck. The behaviour of the French captain was the more astonishing, as Lord Longford, Captain of the *America*, was at that instant engaged in conversation with him in terms of civility; but though such behaviour certainly merited severe chastisement, no hostile return was made.

The *Arcturion* of 26 guns, commanded by Captain Marshall, with the *Alert* cutter, was meanwhile in pursuit of the *Belle Poule*, that was also accompanied by a schooner, and the chase was continued till they were both out of sight of the fleet. On his coming up, he informed the French captain of his orders to bring him to the Admiral, and requested his compliance. This being refused, the *Arcturion* fired a shot across the *Belle Poule*, which she returned with a discharge of her broadside. The engagement thus begun, continued more than two hours with uncommon warmth and fury.

Engagement between the *Belle Poule* and *Arcturion* frigates.

The *Belle Poule* was greatly superior not only in number of guns, but in the weight of her metal: her guns were all 12 pounders; those of the *Arcturion* only six.

C H A P. Notwithstanding this inferiority, she maintained so desperate a fight, that the French frigate suffered a much greater loss of men than the British. The slain and wounded on board the former, amounted by their own account, to near 100; on board the latter, they were not half that number.

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Captain Fairfax in the *Alert*, during the engagement between the two frigates, attacked the French schooner, which being of much the same force, the dispute continued two hours with great bravery on both sides, when she struck to the English cutter.

The *Arethusa* received so much damage, that she became almost unmanageable: the captain endeavoured to put her into such a position, as to continue the engagement; but was unable to do it. Being at the same time upon the enemy's coast, and close on the shore, the danger of grounding in such a situation obliged him to act with the more caution, as it was midnight. The *Belle Poule*, in the mean time, stood into a small bay, surrounded with rocks, where she was protected from all attacks. She had suffered so much, that the captain, apprehending that she could not stand another engagement, had resolved, in case he found himself in danger of one, to run her aground: but her situation prevented any such attempt; and as soon as it was day-light, a number of boats came out from shore, and towed her into a place of safety. Notwithstanding the evident and great superiority on the side of the French, this action was extolled by them as a proof of singular bravery, and the account of it received with as much triumph as if it had been a victory.

On the 15th of June, the day following the engagement with the *Belle Poule*, another frigate fell in with the British fleet; and was captured by the Admiral's orders, on account of the behaviour of the *Licorne*.

The capture of these French frigates produced such intelligence to the admiral, as proved of the utmost importance, at the same time that it was highly alarming. He was informed that the fleet at Brest consisted of 32 ships of the line and 12 frigates. This was in every respect a most fortunate discovery, as he had no more with him than 20 ships of the line and three frigates. The superiority of the enemy being such as neither skill nor courage could oppose in his present circumstances; and as the consequence of a defeat must have been fatal to this country, he thought himself bound in prudence to return to Portsmouth for a reinforcement. Here he arrived on the 27th of June, and remained there till the ships from the Mediterranean, and the Spanish and Portuguese trade,

Keppel returns to Britain.

and the summer fleet from the West Indies coming home, brought him a supply of seamen, and enabled him to put to sea again with ten ships of the line. But still there was a great deficiency of frigates, owing to the great numbers that were on the American station, and the necessity of manning the ships of the line preferably to all others.

In the mean time, the preparations at Brest being fully completed, the French fleet put to sea on the 8th of July. It consisted of 32 sail of the line, besides a large number of frigates. Count d'Orvilliers commanded in chief. The other principal officers in this fleet were, Counts Duchaffault, de Guichen, and de Grasse; Monsieur de Rochechoart, and Monsieur de la Motte Piquet. A Prince of the blood royal had also been sent to serve on board this fleet; this was the Duke of Chartres, son and heir to the Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood royal of France in the collateral line. He commanded one of the divisions in quality of admiral.

On the 9th day of July the British fleet sailed out of Portsmouth in three divisions; the first commanded by Sir Robert Harland, the third by Sir Hugh Palliser, and the centre by Admiral Keppel, accompanied by Admiral Campbell, an officer of great courage and merit. The French had been informed that the British fleet was greatly inferior to their own which was but too true at the time when they received this information. Being yet unapprised of the reinforcement it was returned with, d'Orvilliers sailed at first in quest of it, intending to attack it while in the weak condition it had been represented to him.

Puts to sea  
again, July  
9<sup>th</sup>

As the British admiral was equally intent on coming to action as soon as possible, they were not long before they met. On the 23d of July they came in sight. But the appearance of the British ships soon convinced the French admiral of his mistake, and he immediately determined to avoid an engagement no less cautiously than he had eagerly sought it before.

Herein he was favoured by the approach of night: All that could be done on the part of the British was to form the line of battle in expectation that the enemy would do the same. During the night the wind changed so favourably for the French, as to give them the weather-gage. This putting the choice of coming to action, or of declining it, entirely in their own power, deprived the British admiral of the opportunity of forcing them to engage, as he had proposed.

During the space of four days, the French had the option of coming to action; but constantly exerted their utmost care and industry to avoid it. The British fleet consi-

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Engages the  
French  
fleet, July  
27.

mued the whole time beating up against the wind, evidently with a resolution to attack them. But notwithstanding the vigour and skill manifested in this pursuit, the British admiral had the mortification to see his endeavours continually eluded, by the vigilance and precaution of the enemy not to lose the least advantage that wind and weather could afford.

The chase lasted till the 27th of July. Between ten and eleven in the morning, an alteration of wind and weather occasioned several motions in both fleets, that brought them unintentionally on the part of the French, and chiefly through the dexterous management of the British admiral, so near each other, that it was no longer in their power to decline an engagement. Both fleets were now on the same tack. Had they so remained, the British fleet, on coming up with the French, would have had an opportunity of a fair engagement, ship to ship, which would hardly have failed of proving very decisive : but this was a manner of combating quite contrary to the wishes of the French admiral. Instead of receiving the British fleet in this position, as soon as he found that an action must ensue, he put his ships on the contrary tack, that, sailing in opposite directions, they might only fire at each other as they passed by. By this means a close and sidelong action would be effectually evaded. As soon as the van of the British fleet, consisting of Sir Robert Harland's division, came up, they directed their fire upon it, but at too great a distance to make any impression. The fire was not returned by the British ships till they came close up to the enemy, and were sure of doing execution. In this manner they all passed close alongside each other in opposite directions, making a very heavy and destructive fire.

The centre division of the British line having passed the rearmost ships of the enemy, the first care of the admiral was to effect a renewal of the engagement, as soon as the ships of the different fleets, yet in action, had got clear of each other respectively. Sir Robert Harland, with some ships of his division, had already tacked, and stood towards the French ; but the remaining part of the fleet had not yet tacked, and some were dropped to leeward, and repairing the damages they had received in the action. His own ship, the *Victory*, had suffered too much to tack about instantly ; and had he done it, he would have thrown the ships astern of him into disorder. As soon as it was practicable, however, the *Victory* wore, and steered again upon the enemy before any other ship of the centre division ; of which not above three or four were able to do the same.

The other ships not having recovered their stations near enough to support each other on a renewal of action, in order to collect them more readily for that purpose, he made the signal for the line of battle a-head. It was now three in the afternoon; but the ships of the British fleet had not sufficiently regained their stations to engage. The Victory lay nearest the enemy, with the four ships above-mentioned, and seven more of Sir Robert Harland's division. These twelve were the only ships in any condition for immediate service. Of the others belonging to the centre and to Sir Robert Harland's division, three were a great way astern, and five at a considerable distance to leeward, much disabled in their rigging.

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Sir Hugh Palliser, who commanded the rear division during the time of action, in which he behaved with signal bravery, came of course the last out of it; and in consequence of the Admiral's signal for the line, was to have led the van on renewing the fight; but his division was upon a contrary tack, and was entirely out of the line. The French, on the other hand, expecting directly to be re-attacked, had closed together in tacking, and were now spreading themselves into a line of battle. On discovering the position of the British ships that were fallen to leeward, they immediately stood towards them, in order to cut them off. This obliged the Admiral to wear and to steer athwart the enemy's foremost division, in order to secure them; directing, at the same time, Sir Robert Harland to form his division in a line astern, in order to face the enemy till Sir Hugh Palliser could come up, and enable him to act more effectually.

The Admiral, in moving to the protection of the leeward ships, was now drawing near the enemy. As Sir Hugh Palliser still continued to windward, he made a signal for all the ships in that position to come into his wake. Sir Hugh Palliser repeated this signal; but it was unluckily mistaken by the ships of his division as an order to come into his own wake, which they did accordingly; and as he still remained in his position, they retained theirs of course.

Sir Robert Harland was now directed to take his station a-head, and the signal repeated for Sir Hugh Palliser's division to come into his wake; but this signal was not complied with, any more than a verbal message to that purpose, and other subsequent signals for that division's coming into its station in the line, before it was too late to recommence any operations against the enemy.

In the night, the French took the determination to put it wholly out of the power of the British fleet to attack them a second time. For this purpose, three of their swiftest

French fleet  
retire into  
Brest.

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sailing vessels were fixed in the stations occupied during the day by the three admirals ships of the respective divisions, with lights at the mast-heads, to deceive the British fleet into the belief that the French fleet kept its position with an intent to fight next morning. Protected by this stratagem, the remainder of the French fleet drew off, unperceived and unsuspected, during the night, and retired with all speed towards Brett. They continued this retreat the whole course of the following day, and entered that port in the evening. Their departure was not discovered till break of day; but it was too late to pursue them, as they were only discernible from the mast-heads of the largest ships in the British fleet. The three ships that had remained with the lights were pursued: but the vessels that chased them were so unable to overtake them, from the damages they had received in the preceding day's engagement, that they were quickly recalled; and the Admiral made the best of his way to Plymouth, as being the nearest port, in order to put his fleet into a proper condition to return in quest of the enemy.

The killed and wounded on board the British fleet amounted to somewhat more than 500; but the French, it has been asserted on grounds of great credibility, lost 3000. This appears the less improbable, from the consideration that the French, in all their naval engagements, aim principally at the mast and rigging, and the British chiefly at the body of the ships.

Subsequent  
distinctions  
and merit of  
the admiral.

This action, whatever might have been the merit of the commanders, proved a source of the most fatal animosities. The bulk of the nation had so long been accustomed to hear of great and glorious victories at sea, that it was supposed a kind of impossibility for a French and British fleet to encounter without the total ruin of the former. The event of the last engagement, therefore, became an object of very severe criticism; and complaints were made, that, through the bad conduct of the blue division, an opportunity had been lost of gaining a complete victory over the French fleet. These complaints were quickly introduced into the public papers; and were carried on with a warmth and vehemence that set the whole nation into a ferment of the most violent and outrageous nature. The friends of Sir Hugh Palliser, the vice-admiral of the blue, were no less violent in the defence of his conduct, than his opponents were in its condemnation; while those who espoused the cause of the Admiral, manifested no less determination in accusing him of being the real cause of the escape of the French fleet through his disobedience of the signals and orders of his commander, and by remaining at a distance

with his division, instead of coming to the assistance of the rest of the fleet.

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An accusation of so weighty a nature very much alarmed Sir Hugh Palliser: he therefore applied to Admiral Keppel for a justification of his conduct; and required of him to sign and publish a paper relative to the engagement of the 27th of July; therein specifying, as a fact, that he did not intend by his signals on the evening of that day to renew the battle then, but to be in readiness for it the next morning.

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Conduct of  
Sir Hugh  
Palliser.

On the rejection of this demand, Sir Hugh Palliser published, in one of the daily papers, a variety of circumstances concerning that engagement; reflecting severely on the conduct of the Admiral, and prefacing the whole by a letter signed with his name.

An attack so public, and so detrimental to his character, induced Admiral Keppel to declare to the Admiralty, that, unless Sir Hugh Palliser should explain this matter to his satisfaction, he could not, consistently with his reputation, ever act conjointly with him.

This altercation happening before the meeting of Parliament, was of course taken notice of when it met. In the House of Peers an inquiry was demanded into the conduct of the commanders of the fleet on the 27th of July, on account of the declaration of Admiral Keppel, that he would not resume the command until such an inquiry had taken place.

In the House of Commons also it was urged, that as Admiral Keppel had expressed a public refusal to serve in conjunction with Sir Hugh Palliser, the cause of such a declaration ought to be investigated. Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, who were both present in the House on this occasion, spoke severally to the point in question in support of their respective conduct. The issue of the contest between them was, that a motion was made for an address to the Crown, to bring Sir Hugh Palliser to a trial for his behaviour in the late engagement with the French fleet. In answer to this motion, Sir Hugh Palliser replied, in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, that he had already demanded and obtained a Court-martial to sit on Admiral Keppel, whom he charged with having, through his misconduct, caused the failure of success in that engagement.

This intelligence was received with great astonishment in the house. It had been, and still continued to be, the general desire of individuals of all parties to heal this breach between the two officers at a time when the services of both were so much needed. It was therefore with

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universal concern the House was informed of the determination that had been taken to bring Admiral Keppel to a trial. The Admiral, however, conducted himself on this occasion with remarkable temper and coolness of expression. He acquiesced without reluctance in the orders that had been laid upon him to prepare for a trial of his conduct; which he hoped would not, upon inquiry, appear to have been dishonourable or injurious to his country, any more than disgraceful to himself.

The conduct of the Board of Admiralty, in admitting the charges against Admiral Keppel, and appointing a trial, was greatly condemned in the House. It was said to have been their duty to have laboured with the utmost earnestness, and exerted their whole official influence, to stifle this unhappy disagreement between two brave and valuable men; the consequences of which they well knew, and ought to have obviated, by interposing as reconciliators, instead of promoting the dispute, by consenting to bring it to a judicial and public hearing. On the other hand, it was answered, that they could not consistently with the impartiality which they owed to every officer of the navy, refuse to receive all matters of complaint relating to subjects of their department. They had no right to decide on the merits of any case laid before them, but were bound to refer it to a court composed of naval officers, who were the only proper and competent judges of each other's conduct in professional matters. In conformity with these principles, which were founded upon the clearest equity, they left the decision of the present altercation to the gentlemen of the navy, whose honour and integrity in all instances of this kind had never been called in question, and by whose verdict alone it was but just and reasonable that every officer in that line of service should wish to stand or fall.

The arguments upon this subject were urged with great heat and violence on both sides. They produced uncommon animosity and rancour, and gave rise to a spirit of contention that diffused itself through all classes of society. Such was the height of passion that prevailed every where, that the critical circumstances of the nation were wholly forgotten, and the attention of the public entirely absorbed in this fatal dispute. Individuals of all ranks and all professions engaged in it with as much zeal as if they had been personally concerned in the issue. The dissatisfaction that was excited upon this occasion among the upper classes in the navy, appeared in a memorial presented to the king by twelve of the oldest and most distinguished admirals, at the head of whom was the name of Lord Hawke.

Memorial  
presented to  
the King by  
12 Admirals



The conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser was therein condemned without reserve; that of the Admiralty itself was severely censured, as having established a precedent pregnant with the most ruinous consequences to the naval service of the kingdom. By the measure it had now adopted, that Board had submitted to become the instrument of any individual who might be prompted by iniquitous motives to deprive the navy of its best and highest officers. It was a destructive violation, they said, of all order and discipline in the navy, to permit and countenance long concealed, and afterwards precipitately adopted charges, and recriminatory accusations of subordinate officers against their commanders in chief. It was no less improper and scandalous, to suffer men at once in high civil office, and in subordinate command, previous to their making such accusations, to attempt to corrupt the judgment of the public, by publishing libels on their officers in a common newspaper, which tended at once to excite dissensions in the navy, and to prejudice the minds of those who were to try the merits of the accusation against the superior officer.

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It was remarkable in this memorial, that the majority of those who subscribed it were not only officers of the first rank and importance in the navy, but unconnected with the Opposition, and attached by various motives to the Court and Ministry. This evinced their conduct in the present instance to have been uninfluenced by consideration of party.

No business of any consequence was agitated in either of the Houses of Parliament while the trial continued. It began upon the 7th of January 1779, and lasted more than a month, not ending till the 11th day of February ensuing. After a long and accurate investigation of every species of evidence that could be produced, the Court-martial acquitted Admiral Keppel of all the charges that had been brought against him in the most complete and honourable manner. He was declared to have acted the part of a judicious, brave, and experienced officer; and the accusation was condemned in the most severe manner.

1779.

Admiral Keppel acquitted and thanked.

Both houses of parliament voted him their thanks for the eminent services he had performed, and the city of London bestowed every honour and mark of respect in its power on this favourite admiral. But notwithstanding the high degree of national favour and esteem in which Admiral Keppel now stood, he thought it prudent to withdraw from a situation wherein he found himself not acceptable to those in power, by resigning his command.

In the mean time the vice-admiral felt himself in the most disagreeable situation. Being now the object of al-

Sir Hugh Palliser resigns all his employments, and is tried by a Court-martial and acquitted.

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most universal odium, he was obliged not only to submit to every inconvenience resulting from the loss of public favour, but to give up those offices he enjoyed, and from which he derived very considerable emolument. On the very day on which the sentence of the Court-martial was disclosed in the House of Commons, notice was given that Sir Hugh Palliser had resigned his seat at the Admiralty Board, also his Lieutenant-Generalship of marines, and his government of Scarborough Castle; that he had likewise vacated his seat in Parliament; and only retained his Vice-Admiralship as a qualification for a trial by Court-martial, which the Admiralty had ordered to be held upon him.

The event of Sir Hugh Palliser's trial was likewise honourable, and it was declared he had done his duty in every respect; that indeed he might, some way or other, have acquainted the Commander in Chief with the disabled situation of his ship, (the *Formidable*); however, that his not doing so was not to be accounted a fault or neglect worthy of any degree of censure.

Operations  
in the East  
Indies.  
1778.

By this time the flames of war had involved the most distant quarters of the globe, and the East Indies were now become the scene of hostility no less than Europe and America.—The English East India Company, well aware of the little dependence they could put on the fidelity and honour of the French, determined to be beforehand with them in their own defence. Accordingly, soon after the delivery of the French rescript, they resolved to attempt something decisive; and so secret was every thing kept, with regard to this expedition, that it was not even known in Britain, until the accounts of its success were returned from India.

Pondicherry  
reduced by  
Major Mon-  
ro.

August 3.

The grand object was the reduction of Pondicherry, for which orders were sent to the council of Madras; and these instructions having luckily been conveyed with unusual celerity, the expedition was set about in the beginning of August 1778. On the 8th of that month, Major-General Monro, the commander of the Company's troops on the coast of Coromandel, had assembled the force appointed for the purpose, on a spot of ground called the Red Hill, within four miles of the city; but it was near a fortnight afterwards before he was enabled to invest the fortress closely; nor could the trenches be opened before the 6th or 7th of September. In the mean time Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded the British marine force in those parts, had sailed from Madras, towards the end of July, with a view to block up the place by sea. He had scarcely arrived in his station, when

Sea fight be-  
tween Sir  
Edward  
Vernon and  
M. Tron-  
jolly.  
August 10.

he was attacked by a French squadron under M. Tronjolly, whose ships were equal in number, but greatly superior in force. A very sharp engagement ensued, which terminated in no decisive victory on either side. The French, however, seem to have been sensible that a renewal of the combat must have proved fatal to them, as, after refitting at Pondicherry, they chose rather to abandon the town to its fate, than renew the engagement; so that the place was now closely blocked up both by sea and land.

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In these unfortunate circumstances, the batteries of Sept. 18. the besiegers were opened on the 18th of September, and a heavy fire kept up from 28 pieces of cannon and 27 mortars. The garrison, however, under M. de Bellecombe, the governor of the town, and commandant of all the French settlements in the East Indies, made a gallant defence: and though the powerful artillery of the besiegers soon gained an evident superiority, and they were indefatigable in carrying on their approaches, the assiduity and vigilance of the garrison prevented them from obtaining any sudden or decisive advantage. By the middle of October the British fire had made such impression, that an attack on the body of the place was practicable. A gallery had been pushed into the ditch of the town on the south side; a practicable breach was made in one bastion; the faces of the adjacent bastions ruined; and a bridge of boats prepared for passing the ditch.—Three attacks were, therefore, resolved upon at once, to be supported by Sir Edward Vernon's marines, and 200 seamen. The design was, however, prevented for the present, by an exceeding heavy rain, which occasioned a violent swell of the water in the ditch on the day before the intended assault; but as the damage done on this occasion was quickly repaired, and a new assault proposed in a few days, the French commander, perceiving his situation to be absolutely hopeless, proposed a capitulation, which was granted upon honourable terms. A very numerous artillery, amounting in all to 300 pieces, serviceable and unserviceable, fell into the hands of the conquerors. All public property underwent the same fate; but whatever was private was secured to the owners. The Company's troops on this occasion amounted to 10,500, the garrison to near 3000; of the former 244 were killed, and 693 wounded; the latter had 200 killed, and 480 wounded.

October 16.

By this disaster, the French power in the East Indies was annihilated at once, and the rest of their settlements quickly fell into the hands of the British. We must now, however turn our eyes to the opposite quarter of the

Operations  
in the West  
Indies.

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St Vincent's  
taken by the  
French.

1779.

June 16.

Likewise  
Grenada,  
July 3.

globe, where we left the baffled commander, Admiral d'Estaing, flying, from a very inferior enemy at St Lucia. After his repulse from thence, he retired to the island of Martinico, where Admiral Byron, who had now joined the fleet under Admiral Barrington, and taken the command of it, endeavoured in vain to provoke him to an engagement, as the junction of the British squadrons had now given them a superiority in that quarter. Reinforcements indeed soon arrived to both fleets under the command of Rowley and de Grasse; but as this left matters much in the same state as before, d'Estaing still adhered to his former plan, until the departure of the British fleet, in order to convoy a very valuable one of merchants ships, enabled him to strike a bold stroke by the reduction of St Vincent's. For this purpose he sent the Chevalier de Bumain, a lieutenant of the navy, with four armed vessels, and 300 men, commanded by M. de Canonge. The squadron sailed from Martinico on the 9th of June, but did not reach St Vincent's till the 16th. Having landed without opposition, they marched to a post named Caliaqua, defended only by two guns and six men, which submitted on the first summons. From thence they marched to Kingstown, where they reduced a fort defended by 60 or 80 men; and in a few days after, every post on the island was evacuated, and the whole yielded by capitulation; though, by the governor's own account, the number of aggressors was stated only at 450, and the number who laid down their arms at 464. This, however, will not appear so extraordinary, when we are informed that the Caribbs had joined the enemy on their first appearance in the island, in order to be revenged of the British planters for the enormous cruelty and covetousness they formerly exercised towards them; and the terror of these savages, more than the power of the French, in all probability produced the surrender of the island.

In the beginning of July, M. d'Estaing being reinforced by the arrival of M. de la Motte with a supply of troops, naval stores, and provisions, set sail on an expedition against the island of Grenada. Here he arrived with a fleet of 26 sail of the line, 10 or 12 frigates, and near 10,000 land forces, including marines. The whole British force consisted of about 150 soldiers and artillery men, with 300 or 400 armed inhabitants; and its strength, in a fortified or entrenched hill commanding the fort, harbour, and capital town of St George.

Between 2000 and 3000 forces were landed under the Count Dillon, the same evening; and the enemy having invested the hill, made the necessary preparations for storm-

ing the entrenchments. This assault was imprudently suffered to take place, and the lines were carried by storm, after once repulsing the French, who are said to have lost 300 men in the attack. The cannon of the entrenchments were then instantly turned against fort St George; on which, Lord Macartney, the governor, proposed to capitulate, which he had before refused to do. The French commander, however, now behaved with the greatest haughtiness, allowing only an hour and an half to frame the proposals; and when they were presented, rejecting every one of them in the most peremptory manner. Afterwards, however, he framed some articles himself; but they were deemed so intolerable, that the governor and principal inhabitants thought it more proper to submit, without making any agreement at all, than to consent to them.

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The behaviour of the French commander during his stay on the island was entirely conformable to his haughtiness on this occasion. His soldiers were indulged in the most unbounded licentiousness, and had it not been for the kindness shewn by the Irish regiment of the Count de Dillon, the situation of the vanquished would have been too miserable to be endured.

In the mean time, the air and climate of St Lucia proved more fatal to the English troops left there than the arms of d'Estaing; and the calamity proved the more grievous and detrimental to the interest of the nation, on account of the great difficulty of replacing those excellent troops, who, for discipline and spirit, could scarcely have been matched by any equal number in the world. Admiral Byron returned to this fatal spot on the 1st of July, where, having received accounts of the loss of St Vincent's, he immediately went in quest of d'Estaing, though his own fleet had been weakened by the detachment of a large convoy for the protection of the West India trade, and that of his enemy increased by the squadron of La Motte. By the way he received information that Grenada had been attacked, though the accounts were so imperfect, that he imagined Lord Macartney would be able to hold out till such time as he could come to his assistance. With this false idea, he fell in with the French fleet on the 6th of July. The British force consisted of 21 sail of the line, and one frigate; but encumbered with a great number of transports, which conveyed their troops. The views of the commanding officers of the adverse fleets were, as usual, directly opposite; the British Admiral wishing to bring on as close and decisive an engagement as possible, the French commander to avoid it. On this occasion also fortune seemed to favour d'Estaing; for his ships being

Byron returns to St Lucia, July 1.

Engages d'Estaing.

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much cleaner, and consequently sailing better than the English, it was in their power to adopt what mode of fighting they pleased. The engagement was, therefore, partial; and those few ships of the British fleet, which could reach the enemy, were overpowered by a vast superiority of force, sustaining immense damage before they could be assisted even by their nearest fellows; while these were again, in like manner, overpowered; though several ships of the rear division were never able to come into action at all. From the circumstances of this action, indeed, it was very ruinous to the British fleet; several of the ships having sustained the whole fire of the French fleet as they passed them on a tack; and Captain Fanshawe, of the Monmouth, having attempted singly to stop the progress of the enemy, in order to bring on a general action, which, after all, he could not accomplish, had his ship almost reduced to the condition of a wreck. Some others were nearly in the same condition, and might have been taken, had not d'Estaing been inflexibly determined against coming to a close engagement, which an attempt of this kind might possibly have brought on. The views of the British commander, however, were now totally altered. Some of the British ships had, during the engagement pushed their way to the very harbour of St George's, on the island of Grenada, in hopes of encouraging their friends to make a vigorous defence, when assistance was so near; but having thus obtained certain information that the island was lost, and its recovery utterly impracticable, the motives for continuing the battle no longer subsisted, and thus a cessation of arms on both sides took place. One of the British ships, the Lion, was so exceedingly shattered as to be unable to rejoin the fleet, and, therefore, bore away singly before the wind. The Monmouth, which was much in the same situation, was ordered to sail for St Christopher's. These two fell in by accident at sea, and notwithstanding the miserable condition to which his ship was reduced, Captain Cornwallis, of the Lion, was bearing up with great eagerness to come to an engagement with the other wreck, before he discovered his mistake. Admiral Byron drew up his line, now amounting only to 19 sail of the line, some of which were greatly disabled, in order of battle, towards the evening, at about three miles distance from the enemy, in full expectation of being attacked next morning; but d'Estaing, having gained his point in the protection of Grenada, returned to that island the same night, without offering to give further molestation.

In this engagement, the number of killed and wounded on board the French fleet, owing to the crowded state of

their ships, greatly exceeded that of the British; the loss of the former amounting to 1200 killed, and 1500 wounded; while that of the British did not exceed 183 killed, and 346 wounded, of whom there were four officers in each list; among the last was the brave Vice Admiral Barrington. The French, however, claimed a victory, and indeed, apparently with justice, as they had not only obtained their end by the effectual protection of Grenada, but gained such a prodigious superiority in the West Indies, that the empire of the sea could no longer be disputed with them.

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The British fleet now retired to St Christopher's, before which island the French Admiral paraded for a day, as if to challenge the enemy to battle; afterwards setting sail with all expedition, to the coasts of America. Here, in conjunction with the Provincial General Lincoln, he made an attempt on the Savannah, whose disastrous consequences have been already related, and the failure of which not only disconcerted the whole scheme for the relief of America, for that year, but entirely overthrew the grand projects which the French had formed for the reduction of the West India islands.

British fleet  
retires to St  
Christopher's

The close of this, and the beginning of next year, seemed to prove more favourable to the reputation of the British arms by sea. It does not at all appear, however, that there was, during the whole course of this war, any deficiency in the courage or conduct of the British commanders either by sea or land. The highest exertions of valour and conduct had been displayed during the engagement between Admiral Byron and d'Estaing, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of that engagement on the part of Britain. When Admiral Byron resigned the command to Sir Hyde Parker, the latter displayed equal abilities, and had the good fortune to capture the Alcmena, a French frigate, by which only he learned, as late as November 24, 1779, that d'Estaing had sailed for the coasts of America. Being now well seconded by Rear Admiral Rowley, he preserved a superiority over M. de la Motte Piquet during the remainder of the year 1779, and the beginning of 1780; in consequence of which, the French trade was greatly distressed; nine sail of merchant ships, being the greater part of a convoy, were taken in sight of the French Admiral, and he himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. This happened off Fort Royal in Martinico. To the honour of the French commander, however, it must be observed, that by suddenly slipping his cables, putting out to sea with three ships, and engaging the foremost of the British fleet, he thereby saved the remainder of the convoy already mentioned. This, indeed, he could not

Dec. 18

C H A P. have done but for the protection afforded by the batteries  
XXI. on shore; and on this occasion, the brave Captain Griffith,  
of the Conqueror, was unfortunately killed by approaching  
too near these batteries.

1779.

Dec. 21.

Two days after, Sir Hyde Parker detached Rear Admiral Rowley in the Suffolk, with the Vengeance, Magnificent, and Stirling Castle, in pursuit of three large French ships, supposed to be part of M. de la Motte Piquet's squadron, returning from Grenada. On the 21st of the same month, they were all taken, and proved to be, the La Fortune of 42 guns, the La Blanch of 36, and the La Ellis of 38, with 527 men.

1780.

Engagement  
between  
Captain  
Cornwallis  
and Piquet,  
March 20.

Towards the end of March, 1780, Captain Cornwallis, of the Lion, whose ship had suffered so severely in the engagement with d'Estaing, as has been already related, acquired great honour, by the very brave defence he made against La Motte Piquet, with a squadron greatly superior. Captain Cornwallis being in a cruise off Monte Christi, in his own ship the Lion of 64 guns, with the Bristol of 50, and the Janus of 44, fell in with, and was chased by the French commander, who had four 74 gun ships, and two frigates. The engagement began about five in the evening, and a running fight continued during the whole night, without the enemy coming along side, though they had it in their power to do so. In the morning, however, the Janus was found to be considerably shattered; at the same time, there was so little wind, that the other two ships required to be towed to her assistance. This brought on a general engagement, which lasted between two and three hours, and in which the enemy suffered so much, that they were obliged to lie by to repair. They renewed the pursuit, however, and continued it during the night, but without coming within gun-shot. In the morning, the contest was decided by the appearance of the Ruby man of war, of 64 guns, with two British frigates. The French commander was now, notwithstanding the superiority of force he still maintained, chased in his turn, with the greatest marks of exultation, by the British commanders.

By the end of the month, Sir George Rodney had taken upon him the command of the fleet on the leeward station; and just before his arrival, M. de Guichen, who had succeeded d'Estaing, paraded before the island with 25 ships of the line and 8 frigates, all full of troops; but the judicious dispositions made by General Vaughan and Rear Admiral Parker prevented him from obtaining any advantage from his superior naval force. This visit was soon returned, at Fort Royal in Martinico, by Sir George Rodney; who, with 20 ships of the line, and the Centurion of 50 guns, for



two days insulted the French fleet in that port. On this occasion, he came sufficiently near to be able to number the guns in the batteries, and was even within random shot of them; but as nothing could provoke M. de Guichen to come to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority, the British Admiral found it necessary to depart with the bulk of the fleet, to Gros Islet bay in St Lucia, leaving a squadron of vessels sheathed with copper, to watch the motions of the enemy, and give him intelligence of them.

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In this state things remained till the middle of April, when the French fleet put to sea in the night, and were so speedily pursued by Sir George Rodney, that he got sight of them the following day. A general chase instantly commenced; but the enemy by their manœuvres during the night, clearly indicated their design of keeping to that mode of fighting which had hitherto answered their purposes so well, namely, the avoiding a close engagement, and disabling the ships of the enemy by a distant fire. On this occasion, very great skill is said to have been displayed by the commanders on both sides, in order to prevent any advantage from being gained by the opposite party. The French still had a considerable superiority, being in number 23 sail of the line, and a 50 gun ship. The English fleet consisted only of 20 ships of the line, and the Centurion. On the 17th of April, about one o'clock, the two fleets came to an engagement. The event was very similar to what had happened formerly. The Gazette accounts claimed a victory, at the same time that the French certainly were not beat. Great acts of valour, however, were performed. Sir G. Rodney's own ship the Sandwich, of 90 guns, encountered for some time that of M. de Guichen, together with his two seconds; obliging them at length to bear away, and thus totally broke the line of battle in the centre. This honour, however, was the whole advantage gained in the action, and was by no means purchased at a cheap rate, as it was with difficulty, that the Sandwich could be kept above water for twenty-four hours after. The circumstances of this engagement were never thoroughly explained. It was said, that the signals of the Admiral were treated with contempt. A few of the ships suffered little or no damage, while others were greatly shattered. Some of the captains were put under arrest after the engagement, and one was broke. The Hon. Captain St John, of the Intrepid, with three of his lieutenants, were killed, as well as some other brave officers; the whole loss on the British side amounting to 120 killed, and 353 wounded. An attempt was made in the House of Peers, by Lord St John, brother of the captain

Ineffectual  
engagements  
between Sir  
Geo. Rodney and M.  
de Guichen,  
April 17.

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of the Intrepid, in order to come at the true circumstances of this mysterious engagement; and a letter was read, from an officer, said to have been present, wherein it was asserted, that the spirit which had been displayed by Sir Hugh Palliser, in the engagement off Uthant, had infected the whole fleet, and that the greatest mischiefs were felt in the service from those dissensions which had been sown by the great men at home. Besides other matter, this letter also held out, that the ships were foul and out of repair; that there was a great scarcity of all kinds of naval stores; and that the commander in chief was not only much dissatisfied with the conduct and failure in duty of several of his officers, but likewise with those who had deceived him in relation to the state and condition of the fleet which he commanded. In the comments on this letter it was said, that the causes of this public misfortune had originated at home; that besides the bad condition of the ships, officers were put into command more from their political attachments or principles, than from their reputation or service; and that faction had accordingly spread itself through, and divided the whole fleet. As the first Lord of the Admiralty, however declared himself totally in the dark, as well as every other peer present, with regard to the particulars of this engagement, the motion for an inquiry was easily over-ruled, and the matter suffered to remain in its original obscurity.

April 20.

Notwithstanding the damage the British Squadron had sustained it was speedily repaired; so that, on the 20th, they were again enabled to give chase to the enemy, which they continued for three days without intermission. De Guichen's object now was to avoid as much as possible, a second engagement; and to reach the harbour of Fort Royal, in order to repair his damages. The latter object, however, he was obliged at last to give up, and take shelter in the island of Guadaloupe. Sir George Rodney then sailed towards Fort Royal, cruising off that harbour for some time in hopes of intercepting the enemy, whom he could not overtake. As M. de Guichen did not think proper to leave the island of Guadaloupe, the British Admiral found it necessary to retire to St Lucia, as well to land the sick and wounded, as to water and refit the fleet. These purposes being accomplished with the greatest dispatch, and advice received that the enemy had again put to sea, Admiral Rodney pursued them with such expedition, that by the 10th of May he again came in sight of them. They still, however, kept to their old plan, and, notwithstanding their superiority, cautiously avoided an engagement. At this time, perceiving that they had not only the advantage of

May 10.

the wind, but that their ships were much cleaner and better failers than those of the British Squadron, they for several days, drew up in a line of battle, as if they meant seriously to stand an engagement; but after coming within little more than random shot of the enemy, they suddenly hauled their wind, and departed out of all reach.

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This diversion, however, had like to have cost them dear; for the British Admiral having encouraged their bravado, by a masterly movement for gaining the wind, and which they mistook for a symptom of flight, a close engagement became suddenly unavoidable; nor could they have been relieved from this dilemma but by a critical shift of the wind; and even with that, and the aid of all the sail they could carry, they were not able to preserve their rear entirely from engaging. The van of the British fleet now consisted of Rear Admiral Rowley's division, and was led on by Captain Bowyer of the Albion. On the 15th, in the evening, that gallant officer fell in with the enemy, and sustained for some time a heavy fire from several of their ships, before the Rear Admiral's ship, the Conqueror, and some others, could come up to their assistance. In this conflict, the enemy suffered severely, as did also the Albion and Conqueror, who sustained the greatest share of it on the British side. Three days after, however, by a masterly movement to gain the weather-gage, the fleets were so involved, that a partial engagement again took place. The French fleet bore along the British line to windward, and maintained a heavy cannonade at a distance, which could not admit of any great effect, but which they endeavoured constantly to preserve. The rear, however, and some part of the centre, could not escape a close and vigorous attack from the British van, and suffered considerably. As soon as their rear was extricated, they bore away with all possible expedition. The loss on the British side, in these two engagements, consisted of 68 killed, and 193 wounded. They continued the chase for two days, and then finally lost sight of them, forty leagues to the windward of Martinico, into which island they retired in order to repair their damages, while the British did the same in Carlisle bay, in the island of Barbadoes.

Another en-  
gagement,  
May 15.

In the mean time, the Court of Spain, having, as was formerly mentioned, and will afterwards be more particularly related, entered into a war with Great Britain, and formed a scheme, in conjunction with France, for the reduction of all our West India Islands, sent thither a large fleet, in order to co-operate with M. de Guichen. As they proceeded on their voyage, they fell in with the Cerberus frigate, which happening to escape being taken, and the

A vast fleet  
of Spaniards  
joins that of  
France.

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1780.

captain, at the same time judging rightly of their destination by the course they steered, proceeded with the utmost expedition to the West Indies, in order to communicate the intelligence to Sir George Rodney. On this, the British Admiral used his utmost diligence in putting to sea, in order to intercept them before they could join their allies, who were still at Martinico refitting their ships. His hopes, however, were frustrated by the prudence of Don Solano, the Spanish Admiral; who, instead of proceeding with the whole fleet for Fort Royal, dispatched a swift sailing frigate to inform M. de Guichen of his approach, and to request a speedy junction of the fleets, at the place where he was. This was immediately complied with. The French commander left Martinico, with 18 sail of the line, being all that were yet sufficiently repaired; and, keeping close to the leeward islands, joined the Spanish fleet under the island of Dominica, the whole now amounting to 36 sail of the line.

Such a mighty armament seemed to ensure the objects for which it had been prepared; and the loss of Jamaica, as well as of all the leeward islands, seemed inevitable; but, fortunately for the interest of Britain, it had in itself those seeds of destruction which entirely ruined the scheme. The vast numbers of men crowded on board the Spanish fleet, with their general laziness and want of cleanliness, produced a contagious distemper, little short of pestilence; which first infecting their own seamen, at length spread through the French fleet also, though with less violence. This distemper had already infected the Spaniards before their arrival at the island of Dominica. Here they landed 1200 sick on their first arrival, and a much greater number afterwards, on the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico; by which means not only the spirit of the enterprise was broken, but the means of accomplishing it in a great measure taken away.

Rodney retires to St Lucia.

On the junction of the two fleets, Sir George Rodney retired to Gros Islet bay in St Lucia, in order to watch their motions, and counteract their designs as much as possible. The Spaniards, however, finding that the violence of the contagion which reigned among them was not to be subdued by the air and refreshments on the French islands, reembarked their troops, and proceeded, in company with the French fleet, to the westward, along with the Spanish convoy. M. de Guichen, having escorted them as far as St Domingo, and knowing there was now no enemy in the way, left them to proceed by themselves to the Havannah, while he himself put in at Cape Francois.

Soon after, the British fleet was reinforced by the arrival of Commodore Walsingham from England, with some ships of the line, and four regiments, bound for Jamaica. The Commander in Chief, ignorant as yet of the motions of the enemy, but informed of their departure from Fort Royal, sailed with the whole fleet, as well to observe their motions, as to see the convoy well on their way. But being soon satisfied as to the immediate destination of the combined fleet, he dispatched the convoy with Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham, with ten men of war, for the reinforcement of Sir Peter Parker, and the security of Jamaica; the remainder of the fleet he kept for the protection of the leeward islands, and to observe the motions of the enemy.

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1780.

Is reinforced  
by Commodore  
Walsingham.

Thus were the mighty designs of France, in the year 1780, for crushing at once the British naval force under Admiral Rodney, reducing the whole of the West India islands, and establishing the independence of the British colonies, finally overthrown. Not one of these projects could be carried into execution, by reason of the sickness which raged on board both fleets, but more especially owing to that want of concert betwixt the allies, which evidently prevailed at this time, and has been frequently observed to defeat the best laid schemes of France, when the execution of them in any measure depended on the co-operation of Spain.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Sir Charles Hardy succeeds Keppel—British settlements in Africa reduced—Attempt on Jersey—An invasion threatened—Combined fleets having joined, take the Ardent man of war, and retire to Brest—Afterwards capture East and West India convoy—Quebec fleet taken—Admiral Geary succeeded by Darby—De Guichen arrives at Cadiz—Paul Jones's engagement with the Serapis and Scarborough—Engagement between the Surveillante and Quebec frigates—Hurricane in the West Indies and in England—De Grasse sails from the France to the West Indies—Engagement between him and Sir Samuel Hood—Attempt of Bouille to recover St Lucia—Tobago taken by the French—De Grasse goes to the Chesapeake.*

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XXII.

1778.

Sir Charles  
Hardy suc-  
ceeds Ad.  
Keppel.

British set-  
tlements in  
Africa re-  
duced.

**D**URING all this time, the discontents at home, originating from Admiral Keppel's engagement on the 27th of July, 1778, had arisen to such an height, that the ministry were at no little loss to get an officer to head the navy. On the resignation of this Admiral, of which we have already taken notice, Sir Charles Hardy, an able commander, but who had been twenty years retired from actual service, was appointed to command the fleet destined for the defence of this island, rather because no body else would accept of it, than from any great expectations of his activity or success. During the time he had the command, nothing of any consequence happened, excepting that some unavailing parades of the French fleet took place in the Channel, without affecting, or seeming to with the attempting of any thing.

The campaign on this side the Atlantic was opened in the year 1779, by a successful expedition of the French to the coasts of Africa. The Squadron employed on this occasion was commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with a great land force designed as a reinforcement to Admiral

d'Estaing, at that time in North America. As the British settlements in that quarter were utterly incapable of making any resistance, their forts, factories, &c. at Senegal, on the river Gambia, and other parts of that coast, fell without any difficulty into the hands of the enemy in the month of February. On this success the French abandoned the island of Goree, which had been recovered by the late peace, and transported the artillery and garrison to Senegal; but this abandoned island was afterwards seized and garrisoned by Sir Edward Hughes on his passage to the East Indies, but without making any attempt to recover the other settlements.

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February.

During the progress of the summer, it was thought necessary to attempt something of greater consequence, that the military operations might in some measure correspond with the vast armaments which had been prepared. A plan was laid for the reduction of Jersey and Guernsey. The force employed on this occasion was, by the lowest accounts, estimated at 3000 men. They appeared off the island of Jersey on the 1st of May, 1779, in about fifty flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of five frigates, and some armed cutters, early in the morning, and attempted to make a debarkation in St Owen's bay. They were, however, so warmly and vigorously received by the 78th regiment, assisted by the militia of the island, that after a faint, spiritless, and ill-supported attempt, they relinquished the enterprize with very little loss on either side.

Unsuccessful attempt on the island of Jersey.

May 1.

At this time Admiral Arbuthnot, with a very large convoy, consisting of more than 100 merchantmen and transports, was on his way to New-York; but being acquainted with the imminent danger to which the island of Jersey was exposed, had sufficient resolution rather to abide any consequence which might ensue to himself from a breach of orders, than to suffer it to fall into the hands of the French.—Having accordingly ordered the convoy to wait for him at Torbay, he proceeded with the fleet to the relief of the island, on which the attempt did not seem to be abandoned, notwithstanding the late disgrace. The French troops had been landed, and remained for several days on the small islands which lie between Jersey and the continent, while the armed vessels paraded on the opposite coasts of Normandy. The spirit, activity, and bravery of Sir James Wallace, however, soon put an end to every appearance of danger. With the Experiment of 50 guns, seconded by two frigates, and as many armed brigs, he pursued several large frigates, with some smaller craft, into the bay of Concalles in Normandy, until

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they had run ashore under the cover of a battery, and his pilots would not venture to take the charge of his ships any longer. He then took the care of conducting the ships upon himself, and having laid the *Experiment* abreast of the battery, soon silenced it, and obliged the French to abandon their ships. A frigate of 34 guns, an armed brig, and two small loaded prizes, were safely brought off; but as the country people and militia kept up a constant fire with cannon and howitzers, as well as small arms from the shore, they were obliged to content themselves with destroying two other stout frigates, an armed cutter of 16 guns, and some small craft.

1778.

This abortive attempt on the island of Jersey, was only a prelude to a design of much greater consequence, that of alarming the island of Britain itself with an invasion. Even the attempt on Jersey, though so unsuccessful, was not without very serious consequences. Admiral Arbuthnot, as we have already seen, had left his convoy, in order to come to the relief of the island; and though the delay, in the first instance, was but small, yet through the casualties of wind and weather, the fleet was not able to get clear of the land of England till the beginning of the ensuing month; and as it was loaded with reinforcements, camp stores, and equipage for Sir Henry Clinton, such a delay could not fail of having a very considerable effect on the campaign in North America, as thus these necessary articles did not arrive in that continent until the end of August.

Britain  
threatened  
with an in-  
vasion.

Whether at this time the French really meditated an invasion of Great Britain or not, may admit of some dispute. The most probable opinion seems to be, that it was rather intended to keep the coasts in continual alarm, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the exportation of forces to North America and the West Indies, and to preserve that decided superiority at sea in these parts which was necessary for the accomplishment of the grand schemes they had there projected. But, however this might be, an invasion was indicated by every appearance on the coast of France. Armies were marched down to the sea-coasts of Normandy and Brittany. The ports in the Bay and on the Channel, which were the best calculated for this purpose, were crowded with shipping; and the King named the generals and principal officers who were to command in an intended grand expedition, at the same time that the unguarded state of England, by reason of its military power not being fully called forth, but especially the defenceless condition of Ireland, seemed fully to justify our apprehensions.



As the court of Spain had by this time fitted out a formidable navy, in order to act in conjunction with that of France, it became an object of some consequence to Britain to prevent the junction of these two fleets, by blocking up the French fleet in Brest until the season of action should be over. Such an enterprize was undoubtedly in contemplation, but, for some reasons never laid before the public, could not be put in execution. The French fleet, under the command of M. d'Orvilliers, sailed from Brest on the 4th of June, and directed its course towards Spain, where, having at length effected a junction with the fleet of that nation, the two formed a most tremendous armament, consisting of between 60 and 70 ships of the line, besides a vast number of frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels.

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1778.

Junction  
and strength  
of the com-  
bined fleets.  
1779.

This prodigious fleet, having directed its course to the northward, passed that of Britain, under Sir Charles Hardy, amounting to 35 or 38 sail of the line, somewhere near the mouth of the Channel, without either of the two having the least intelligence of the other. About the middle of August, they entered the Channel, and paraded two or three days before Plymouth, to the great alarm of the people, but without making any attempt on the place. The Ardent man of war, however, of 64 guns, happening to be entangled among them, on her way to join Sir Charles Hardy, was unfortunately taken. Having continued some days in the Channel, they were obliged to leave it, by reason of a strong easterly wind, though they pretended that they went in quest of the British fleet. Sir Charles Hardy continued unmolested by these formidable antagonists; and, on the last day of August, having gained the advantage of the wind, entered the Channel in the night, without their being able to prevent him. The British commander now made the best of his way to the narrow part of the channel; where, if he should be forced to an engagement, it might be commenced on less disadvantageous terms, and where either a defeat, or certain changes of the wind, might be productive of the most ruinous consequences to the enemy. The combined fleets pursued him up as high as Plymouth; but, being sensible of their danger, particularly at that season of the year, they did not think proper to proceed much farther. They were now also become exceeding sickly, so that some of their ships being almost disabled, and others very much out of order, their commanders found it necessary, towards the middle of September, totally to abandon the coasts of Britain, and repair to Brest, in order to procure the assistances they so much wanted. Thus, for the same reasons that overthrew

They take  
the Ardent  
man of war.

August 30.

Retire to  
Brest, Sept.

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1780.

Ad. Hardy  
dying, is  
succeeded  
by Geary.

British and  
combined  
fleets again  
put to sea.

The latter  
capture the  
East and  
West India  
convoy,  
August 8.

Quebec fleet  
taken.

the American scheme did this mighty parade end in nothing besides the taking of a single ship. A few days before their appearance, a great Jamaica fleet, amounting to about 200 ships, had arrived in England; and eight homeward-bound Indiamen, having timely notice of their danger, avoided it, by putting into Limerick in Ireland.

By the death of Sir Charles Hardy, which happened about the middle of May 1780, the fleet was left destitute of a commander, and the ministry again at a loss. The choice having now fallen upon Admiral Geary, an experienced officer, but who, like his predecessors, had for many years been retired from actual service, this admiral set sail from Spithead, in the beginning of June 1780, with 23 sail of the line, several of them of the first rate; and, on his cruize, was joined by five or six more. The French fleet from Brest, had by this time again formed a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz, and again assumed the superiority in the European seas, at least with regard to number, though in point of real force, their superiority might even have admitted of some doubt. Though no engagement ensued, the combined fleets had now much better fortune than the preceding year. The commanders of the British fleet having notice that a detached squadron of French and Spanish men of war, under M. de Beaufort, were cruising on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, proceeded to the southward, at least to the height of Cape Finisterre, in hopes of intercepting them. In the meantime, a rich and valuable convoy for the East and West Indies, under the conduct of Captain Moutray, of the *Ramillies*, sailed from Portsmouth, the latter end of July, but were intercepted in the beginning of August, by the combined fleets, under Don Louis de Cordova. The convoy included, besides the merchantmen, 18 victuallers, storeships and transports, destined for the service of the West Indies; one of these being of great importance, as conveying tents and camp-equipage for the troops on the leeward islands. The five East Indiamen, likewise, besides arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, had on board, a large quantity of naval stores, for the supply of the British squadron in that part of the world. These five India ships, with above 50 merchantmen, were all taken, with 1250 seamen, 1255 soldiers, 74 land-officers, 149 women, and 137 passengers. In all 2865 persons. The *Ramillies*, with the frigates, and a few West India ships, had the good fortune to escape. This disaster was quickly followed by the news that a great part of the outward bound fleet to Quebec, had been intercepted by some American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland, in the beginning of

July. Some of these were afterwards re-taken, but 14 rich ships were entirely carried off. These disasters, by far, overbalanced Admiral Geary's success in the beginning of his cruise, when he took 12 rich merchantmen, being part of a convoy from Port au Prince. His success would have been greater, but a thick fog which suddenly arose, together with the nearness and danger of the enemy's coast, afforded an opportunity to the rest, as well as to the ships of war by which they were guarded, to escape.

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1780.

The new admiral soon became weary of the arduous task to which he had bound himself, and resigned his command, immediately after the return of the fleet to Portsmouth, on the 18th of August 1780. On his resignation, the former difficulty of finding a commander returned.

August 18.

The command was now offered to Admiral Barrington, but as he declined this high office, it was bestowed on Admiral Darby, the next in rank to Barrington. The

Ad. Geary  
succeeded  
by Darby.

grand fleet sailed again about the middle of September, but was detained for some time, by contrary winds, at Torbay. In the mean time, M. de Guichen, having left

September.

the West Indian seas, and set sail for Europe, to the great disappointment of his American allies, as has been already related, arrived towards the end of October, at Cadiz, with 18 sail of the line, and several frigates. Here he found M. d'Estaing, with a large fleet, ready to conduct him and his convoy to the French ports. When united,

De Guichen  
arrives at  
Cadiz, Oct.

they were very numerous, amounting to no fewer than 36 sail of the line, two 50 gun ships, and a number of frigates; notwithstanding which, as the British fleet under Admiral Darby was known to be in the way, they were conducted by the Spaniards, as far as Cape Finisterre. After being driven back into port by a storm, they took their final leave of Cadiz on the 7th of November; and, soon after parting with the the Spanish fleet, fell in with that of Admiral Darby. The latter, however, being greatly outnumbered, having with him only 22 sail of the line, and two 50 gun ships, did not venture any attack, though the condition of the enemy is said to have been so bad, that an attack must have been attended with the most decisive circumstances in favour of Britain, notwithstanding their inferiority in number. It was also reported, that the hostile fleets were for several days so near each other, that it was a matter of some care and nicety to prevent their being entangled with each other in the dark.

Nov. 7

But though so little was performed, this year and the last, by the grand fleets against each other, a great number of well-fought and desperate actions took place between single ships both in the old and new world. Of these, the

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Sept. 15.

Sept. 17.

Engagement  
between  
Paul Jones  
and the Se-  
rapis and  
Scarborough

battle betwixt Paul Jones and the Serapis and Scarborough, is as remarkable as any. This adventurer had for some time infested the coasts of Scotland. In April 1778, he had plundered the Earl of Selkirk's house, where he had formerly been a servant, of its plate, and afterwards endeavoured to set fire to the town of Whitehaven.—From thence he had proceeded to Ireland, where, after having alarmed the country, he returned to Scotland. In the morning of September 15th 1779, his squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, were discovered off Eymouth; from whence they steered directly up the Frith of Forth, and on the 17th were nearly opposite to Leith. His intention was supposed to have been to burn or destroy the shipping in that harbour, but he was prevented from attempting any thing by a strong west wind, which drove him down the Frith. Proper precautions were also taken to prevent his repeating the attempt with any probability of success. In one day three batteries were erected; two at the Citadel in North Leith, and one near Newhaven, on which were mounted 30 cannon, besides carronades, howitzers, &c. Several prizes, however, were taken, some of which, after being plundered, were set adrift. From this coast, our adventurer sailed directly to that of Holland, where he fell in with the Serapis and Scarborough. A dreadful engagement ensued, the particulars of which are thus related by Captain Pearson of the Serapis: The enemy's squadron consisted of two frigates and a two-decked ship. About twenty minutes after seven, the largest ship brought to within musket-shot, and an engagement immediately commenced, which was carried on with the utmost fury. The enemy at first endeavoured to board the Serapis; but being repulsed, after various manœuvres, the two ships became entangled with each other in such a manner that the muzzels of the guns touched each others sides. In this situation the engagement continued for two hours, during which time, from the great quantity of burning matter thrown into the Serapis, she was on fire in different places no less than ten or twelve times, nor could it be extinguished without the utmost difficulty; at the same time, that she was raked in the most dreadful manner by the frigate, fore and aft, so that almost every man on the quarter and main decks was killed or wounded. About half past nine, either from a hand-grenade thrown in at one of the lower deck ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which, running from cartridge to cartridge, at last blew up the whole of the people and officers on the main deck, rendering also the guns-unserviceable on that part of the ship.

At ten o'clock the enemy called out for quarter, and said they had struck; but on Captain Pearson inquiring into the truth of this circumstance, and no answer being made, he determined to board the enemy. On looking into her, however, they discovered a superior number, with pikes, ready to receive them, on which they instantly retreated into their own ship. The firing was then continued on both sides till half an hour after ten, when the frigate coming across the stern of the *Serapis*, poured a broadside into her; after which, the Captain finding it impracticable to continue the engagement any longer, struck his colours; the main-mast coming by the board at the same instant. The conquering vessel was in such distress that she sunk the next night.

In the month following another very desperate action took place. Captain Farmer of his Majesty's ship *Quebec*, being on a cruise off Ushant, in company with the *Rambler* cutter, came up with, and closely engaged, a large French frigate called the *Survillante*, mounting 40 guns; while the *Rambler* was engaged with a French cutter, as superior in force as the French frigate was to the *Quebec*. The action on both sides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter set all the sail she could crowd, and bore away; but the *Rambler* being so disabled in her masts and rigging, could not follow her with any hopes of coming up with her. The commander, therefore, seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the *Quebec* take fire, endeavoured to get as near the *Quebec* as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but their being but little wind, and a large swell, no other assistance could be afforded than by hoisting out the boat, which picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen more of the *Quebec*'s people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. The *Quebec* continued burning very fierce, with her colours flying till six o'clock, when she blew up.

Engagement  
between the  
*Quebec* and  
*Survillante*,  
October.

Words cannot describe the gallantry and magnanimity displayed by Captain Farmer on this occasion, not only in the engagement, but the fatal catastrophe with which it was attended. Having his arm broken towards the close of the engagement, he tied his handkerchief round the shattered part of the bone, and then addressed his men as follows: "My lads! this is warm work; therefore keep up your fire with double spirit; we will die or conquer!"

When the ship took fire, he used every method to extinguish the flames; and, in order that an explosion might be prevented, ordered the pumps to play on the magazine.

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This order, by the event, appears not to have been properly effected. The captain, however, the lieutenant, and many of the crew imagined it was, and therefore remained to the last moment on board; but most of the men, thinking the water afforded a better chance of safety, jumped into the sea, where numbers perished in sight of those on board the ship. The fire now raging with more violence, the captain was requested to attempt saving himself, but he refused every solicitation, and, with a magnanimity that will perpetuate his memory, declared he would not quit the ship whilst there remained another man on board. By degrees his brave companions grew less and less, and as he saw inevitable destruction fast approaching, he entreated the remainder to attempt to save their lives by the only effort remaining, namely, that of jumping into the sea. His lieutenant stood mournfully by him, and exhibited a scene to which neither the pen nor the pencil can do justice.

The fate of the gallant Captain Farmer will be lamented by every Englishman. In the awful hour of peril, when his fate was inevitable, it is said he sat on the fluke of the sheet anchor, waiting, with heroic fortitude, the dreadful explosion, which at last numbered him with departed heroes. Perhaps there never was, in the annals of the world, exhibited a more striking instance of true courage, undaunted resolution, and stoical philosophy; and it is not to be doubted but posterity will pay that respect to his memory, which such an illustrious character deserves.

When intelligence was received in Britain of this melancholy event, universal lamentation prevailed. Every one regretted the fate of the heroic veteran; and his Majesty, as a mark of respect to his memory, conferred the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain on his eldest son.

1780.

The following year was distinguished by a great number of combats of a similar nature, in which such instances of professional skill, courage, and dexterity, were continually displayed by the French, as had never before appeared in the marine of that nation. Nor is it probable, that the naval history of any age could, in an equal space of time, afford so many instances of single combat between ship and ship, in which the points of national and professional honour were so well sustained, and such numerous acts of bravery performed on both sides.

Dreadful  
hurricane in  
the West  
Indies.

But while the human species were thus vying with each other in their efforts to destroy their brethren, the fury of the elements seemed to be let loose in the West Indies in such a manner as if designed to impress mankind with a thorough conviction of their own intrinsic weakness, and the insufficiency even of the most formidable apparatus

they could invent to resist their superior power. On the 10th of October 1780, these islands, which were the principal objects of contention betwixt the British and French, were visited by a hurricane of unequalled violence. At Barbadoes it continued, with very little intermission, for 48 hours. On the morning of the 10th, there was much rain and wind from the N. W. By ten o'clock it increased very much; by one the ships in the bay drove; by four the Albemarle frigate parted her anchors and went to sea, as did all the other vessels, about 25 in number. By six o'clock the wind had torn up and blown down many trees, and foreboded a most violent tempest. At the Government-house every precaution was taken to guard against what might happen. The doors and windows were barricaded up; but by ten o'clock the wind forced itself a passage through the house from the N. N. W. and the tempest increasing every minute, the family took to the centre of the building, imagining, from the prodigious strength of the walls, they being three feet thick, and from its circular form, it would have withstood the wind's utmost rage. However, by half after eleven o'clock, they were obliged to retreat into the cellar, the wind having forced its way into every part, and torn off most of the roof. From this asylum they were soon driven out: the water being stopped in its passage, found a way into the cellar, so that they knew not where to go: the water had risen four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. The only chance now was to make for the fields, and the family had the good fortune to get to the ruins of the flagstaff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a shelter for himself. The governor and the few who remained were thrown down, and it was with great difficulty they gained the cannon, under the carriages of which they took shelter. Here their situation was very deplorable; many of the cannon were moved out of their places, and one twelve pounder was carried from the south to the north battery, a distance of about 140 yards. General Vaughan, the commander in chief of the military in the island, seeming to imagine, that from his station he ought to defy the wrath of the elements, as well as the arms of the enemy, was with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to quit his house, accompanied by a single friend. They had scarcely, however, passed the threshold, ere the tempest separated them they knew not whither. It was the general's fate to be driven down a precipice of considerable extent, of which having reached the bottom, he felt himself nearly up to the middle in water; and in that situation he was found in the morning, sorely bruised by his fall,

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and almost exhausted with fatigue. It happened, that the general and his friend had not quited the house five minutes, before the building tumbled to the ground, and seven persons lost their lives in the fall. The general's secretary, who was in the house at that time, had his thigh broken; and when morning arrived, the general found himself deprived of domestics, money, clothes, furniture, and every thing he possessed in the island.

In the course of this dreadful night, Bridgetown, the capital of the island, was almost entirely levelled with the ground. The other houses of the town shared the same fate with the Government-house, but in a much shorter time; nor was there a single house on the island but what suffered damage. In general, they were levelled with the ground; the plantations destroyed; the produce of the earth so totally torn up and dispersed, that not a vestige of it was to be found; most of the horned cattle were killed; and the most opulent families, as well as the most indigent, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without food or shelter. Several thousand lives were lost, but the numbers could never be properly ascertained, as besides those who perished in the tempest, and whose bodies were easily found, great numbers were buried in the ruins of their houses.

At St Lucia the storm did not commence with violence till the morning of the 11th of October. Several ships of war that had been stationed for the protection of the island were driven out to sea before day-light. One vessel was lost, with all on board her. Most of them were dismasted; and the Amazon and Vengeance bomb-vessel were with much difficulty saved.

On the island of St Lucia all the huts and barracks for the troops, as well as the other buildings of the island were blown down. A similar devastation took place at Grenada; and at St Vincent's it was said, that not a house was left standing. To these destructive scenes we shall only add, that of the effects of the hurricane in Jamaica, where it was earlier by a week than in the other islands. Here also it was rendered still more terrible by being accompanied with an earthquake and extraordinary swell of the sea; however it was happily more confined in its effects, reaching only the western part of the island. On the 3d of October, while the inhabitants of Savannah-la-Mar (then a considerable trading town on the south of the island) were gazing at such a swell of the sea, and agitation of its waves, as had never before been observed, it suddenly burst out at once beyond all bounds, and overwhelmed the town with such sudden and inevitable destruction, that not a vestige of



either habitation or inhabitant remained. On this occasion the sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual bounds; but lamentable as this catastrophe was, it seemed to be only a prelude to a calamity equally dreadful and much more extensive. The succeeding earthquake and hurricane spread desolation as effectually over the two parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover, including the whole western part of the island. By the joint force of these, scarce a house was left standing in either of the parishes just mentioned, or in those of St James and Elizabeth. Numbers of people, both black and white, perished; the provisions and live stock were entirely destroyed, and the rich cultivated soil in many places covered with heaps of barren matter, which could neither be removed, nor rendered fertile by cultivation. The damage done in the parish of Westmoreland alone was estimated at 700,000*l.* sterling, and in that of Hanover a fourth part of the whole property was supposed to be destroyed. A parliamentary grant and liberal subscriptions were made for the sufferers.

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The French islands did not escape more than those belonging to Britain. At Martinico, the beautiful town of St Pierre shared the same fate with that of Savannah-la-Mar in Jamaica; and the most dreadful desolation was spread throughout the whole island.

The damage done to the shipping was immense. Admiral Rodney fortunately escaped, by having previously sailed to the coast of North America; but the ships under Admiral Rowley, which convoyed the Jamaica fleet on its way to Britain, suffered excessively. Of this Squadron the Admiral's ship, with five others, returned to Jamaica, entirely disabled, and mostly dismasted. In this condition, the Berwick, being separated from the rest, found it preferable to undertake a voyage to England rather than to return. The Stirling Castle, of 64 guns, was lost on the coast of Hispaniola, and only about fifty of the people saved. The Thunderer, of 74 guns under Commodore Walsingham, foundered at sea. The Phoenix, of 44 guns, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, perished on the island of Cuba; but the officers and most of her crew were happily saved. The Laurel and Andromeda, of 28 guns each, were wrecked on the coast of Martinico. A great number of smaller vessels were either totally lost or greatly damaged.

A few days after the earthquake and hurricane in the West Indies, a most dreadful storm happened in England, by which a tract of fine country between London and Richmond suffered exceedingly. A number of houses were blown down, and large trees torn up by the roots. This storm, seemingly no less violent than that which had deso-

Storm of a  
singular na-  
ture in Eng-  
land  
Oct. 15.

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1780.

lated the West India islands, was of a peculiar nature, and resembled rather a succession of violent electric explosions than wind; and indeed, from the best accounts of it, it is probable that the whole mischief was done in the short space of a minute and a half, or two minutes.

1781.

During the close of the year 1780 and the beginning of 1781, the operations of the French were suspended by reason of the superiority of the British at sea; by which, as we have already seen, their design, in conjunction with the Americans, for the cutting off Arnold's retreat from Virginia, was totally overthrown. On this occasion they had got some addition to their naval force, and were besides farther encouraged by a disaster which had befallen the British fleet in a tempest. But the commanders of the latter having repaired their damages more speedily than could have been imagined, still were able to intercept the enemy on their way from Rhode-Island to Virginia. An engagement ensued, in which victory belonged to the British, though, by reason of three of their ships being disabled, the advantage could not be pursued in such a manner as to be rendered decisive.

De Grasse  
sets sail with  
a great fleet,  
from France  
to the West  
Indies.  
March 22.

Towards the end of March, however, M. de Grasse set sail from Brest with a fleet of 25 sail of the line, and a ship of 50 guns, having on board 6000 land forces, and conveying a vast number of rich merchant ships, amounting to between 200 and 300. Of this formidable armament, however, five ships of the line, under the command of M. de Suffrein, were sent to the East Indies, with part of the land forces; whilst the Admiral, with 20 sail of the line, the fifty-gun ship, and the remainder of the convoy, proceeded directly for Martinico, where they had already eight ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship. Without this reinforcement, the British fleet under Sir George Rodney was an over match for that under de Grasse, as it consisted of 21 sail of the line; for which reason every effort was used to intercept the hostile fleet on its way from Europe, before it could receive such a formidable addition of strength. Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake were accordingly detached for this purpose, with 17 sail of the line, while Rodney remained at St Eustatius with his own ship, the Sandwich of 90 guns, the Triumph of 74, as well as General Vaughan, with a strong body of land forces; another ship of 64 and one of 60 being then at St Lucia on a cruise.

Engagement  
betwixt Sir  
Sam. Hood  
and De  
Grasse.

The course of the French fleet, from Europe to Fort Royal, lay through the Channel of St Lucia, which is about ten leagues over, and separates that island from Martinico. The cape of Salines in Martinico lies at the

opening of the Channel to the eastward in the way from Europe, while Fort Royal stands near the bottom of the Channel at its western end, where it widens into the main sea. About half way between them lies the Diamond Rock, a little off from a broken neck of land forming the east side of Fort Royal bay, the town and harbour lying on the opposite side. The British fleet were stationed off this bay, in order to intercept the enemy in their way to Fort Royal. Objections, however, are said to have been made to this position, on account of the fleet being continually liable to fall to the leeward, and a proposal was made by Sir Samuel Hood, that they should cruise off Cape Salines, where their windward situation would render it impossible for any fleet to enter the Channel without encountering them.

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This salutary advice, if given at all, was rejected without much ceremony, and the fleet continued to cruise off the bay of Fort Royal till the 28th of April, when the appearance of a superior hostile fleet was announced by some of the headmost cruisers of Sir Samuel Hood's division. Without regarding their superiority of force, however, a signal was immediately made for a general chase to windward; and, some time after, when the ships were pretty well come up, he formed the line of battle a-head. A consultation was held between the Admirals in the night, in which it was determined to keep the line a-head, in order to get as much as possible to windward, and thus prevent the enemy from putting into Fort Royal bay. Next morning, notwithstanding the utmost diligence of the British commanders, four ships of the line and a fifty-gun ship had joined De Grasse; so that though the Prince William, of 64 guns, likewise joined the British, there was still a superiority of six sail of the line on the part of the French.

The British Admirals were far from being dismayed at this great superiority of force. On the contrary, they used every endeavour to come to a close engagement; but, as the French fleet had the advantage of the wind, it was impossible to force an action of this kind. M. de Grasse chose to engage at the greatest distance possible. Indeed his fleet had fired half an hour before the balls reached any of the British ships. At half past eleven, however, the balls began to reach, and the firing was returned on the part of the British, but still at too great a distance, and continued to be so during the whole time of the engagement. Great efforts were made by the British officers to close with their adversaries; but these were attended only with the usual consequences. Instead of being able

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to accomplish their purpose, they found themselves exposed to a prodigious fire from great part of the enemy's fleet; so that the *Russel*, and four other ships, were for the present totally disabled from service; the former being obliged to bear away for *St Eustatius*, and with great difficulty prevented from sinking by the way.

The great advantage which the French Admiral had now obtained rendered him desirous of improving it, by coming to a closer action next day; but a dextrous manœuvre of the British Admiral to gain the wind, by which he would have effectually cut off the one half of the French fleet from any assistance from the other, effectually damped his ardour, and for the remainder of the day, the British seemed to have been the aggressors. Next day, however, the condition of the ships which had suffered in the engagement having induced the Admirals to sail for *Antigua*, the French pursued with more vigour than they had hitherto shown; and the *Torbay*, having fallen considerably astern, received several shot and some damage before she could be relieved. The arrival of the *Russel* at *St Eustatius* roused the British commanders there from their inactivity. The damaged ship was quickly repaired, and, in three days, the Admiral and General, with some land forces, joined Sir Samuel Hood for the protection of the islands; and, after having spent some time at *Antigua* for the thorough repair of the ships, the whole fleet proceeded to the island of *Barbadoes*.

Unsuccessful  
attempt of  
M. Bouille  
to recover  
*St Lucia*.  
May 10.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Bouille resolved to make a bold attempt for the recovery of *St Lucia*. A body of troops, under the Viscount Damas, landed on that island on the 10th of May, and took post at *Gros Islet* bay, where they hoped to surprise the 46th regiment. In this, however, they miscarried, having been able only to carry off one officer prisoner, with the sick soldiers of the regiment, whom they sent to *Martinico*. The officer who commanded in *Pigeon Island* was then summoned to surrender; but he, conscious of the importance of the post he held, returned a spirited answer, at the same time making such preparations for a vigorous defence as somewhat damped their ardour.

The different posts of the island were defended by Brigadier General *St Leger*, who made the best dispositions with the force he had, though that was too small for defending posts so numerous and widely extended. However, he was excellently seconded by his officers; and the merchants, as well as the crews of the trading vessels, all entered into the service with the greatest alacrity.

During the night, the French troops underwent a very fatiguing march, in order to seize the strong post of Morne Fortune, which was the principal one in the island; and the next day, the island was invested by the fleet under de Grasse, of 25 sail of the line. They bore down upon Gros Islet Bay, with an apparent view of anchoring there, but were driven off by a well-directed fire from the batteries on Pigeon's Island; notwithstanding which repulse, the Marquis de Bouille continued to make such dispositions as indicated an attack on Morne Fortune next day; but, to the astonishment of the whole island, he re-embarked all his troops in the night, and, next morning, the whole fleet was seen standing over to Martinico.

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1781.

About a fortnight after the expedition had been undertaken against St Lucia, a small French squadron, with a considerable body of land forces on board, under the command of M. de Blanchelande, who had been governor of St Vincent's, appeared off the island of Tobago. The Rattlesnake, a very swift sailing vessel, was instantly dispatched by Governor Fergusson to Admiral Rodney with this important intelligence; and Captain Barnes had the good fortune to deliver his dispatches to him in three days after he received it. On this occasion the commander in chief did not move with the whole fleet to the relief of the island, but sent Admiral Drake with six sail of the line, a few frigates, and some land forces under the command of General Skene, to its relief; at the same time, several swift sailing vessels were dispatched to give notice to Mr Fergusson, governor of Tobago, of the intended relief. As the commander in chief, however, was well apprised that M. de Grasse, with his whole fleet, was cruising between the Diamond Rock and St Lucia, he cautioned Mr Drake against venturing an engagement with an enemy so greatly superior in strength; but after landing the troops on the island, and endeavouring to destroy the squadron by which the island was invested, he was directed to rejoin the fleet without loss of time.

Tobago taken by the French.

May 28.

May 28.

With these directions, however, it was now impossible to comply. When Admiral Drake approached the island, he found his passage thither intercepted by the whole French fleet, amounting to 27 sail of the line; so that, instead of being able to afford any relief to the island, he was pursued a considerable way, in sight of the garrison and inhabitants; and soon after a report was raised on the island, that he was taken with his whole Squadron.

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But though the garrison were now totally cut off from all hopes of relief, the French met with much more trouble than they could have expected in the reduction of the island. According to Governor Fergusson's account, the French made good their landing on the 24th of May, 1781, with very little loss, at a place called Great Courland. Here was a temporary battery of three 18 pounders, but almost entirely without cover, and so injudiciously posted, that ships could fire on the back part of it before a gun from it could be brought to bear upon them. The consequence of this was, that the *Pluton*, a French ship, having brought to within 400 yards of the battery, quickly drove the party from it without their being able almost to bring a gun to bear upon her, though a single gun judiciously placed, and properly managed, killed several of her men.

Patriotism  
of Mr Col-  
low;

The governor then disposed of his troops in such a manner as to be capable of harassing the French on their march; but the French general, aware of his danger, chose another road, which rendered the precaution of Mr Fergusson useless. A gentleman (Mr Collow) then offered to set fire to his sugar-canes, in order to prevent the enemy from advancing; but by reason of some rain which had fallen, they did not burn with such rapidity as to have the desired effect.

In the mean time, it was judged proper to retire to Concordia, the principal fortification of the island, lest the enemy, by a circuitous march of their forces, should make themselves masters of it. The French commander then dispersed papers among the planters, complaining of their having deserted their habitations, and acquainting them that their plantations would be plundered, and their property confiscated, if they did not return to them in twenty-four hours. These, however, had no effect on the planters, any more than a message from General Blanchelande to the governor, in which he informed him, that he had landed with 3000 troops to conquer the island, and that he would give any terms of capitulation that might be demanded.

and of Mr  
Law.

A reinforcement was now sent for from Martinico. The enemy took possession of the heights about Concordia, and soon after threatened an attack; on which occasion, another gentleman (Mr Law) gave a signal proof of his patriotic virtues, by offering to burn his house and other buildings, which he perceived the governor was unwilling to destroy, though it seemed necessary to do so for the safety of the island. Nor was this disagreeable service executed without opposition

from the enemy, by which some negroes and two white people were wounded. CHAP.  
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In the morning of the 30th of May, the governor was acquainted by Admiral Drake that he was coming to his assistance with six sail of the line, three frigates, and 528 land forces under General Skene; but the joy occasioned by this message was soon damped by information, that the whole French fleet had fallen in with Mr Drake, in consequence of a letter from General Blanchelande six days before; and that the landing of the troops was not only impossible, but it was supposed his Squadron was taken. Next day, the French fleet was seen in chace of Admiral Drake's Squadron, at the same time that two frigates and three cutters full of French troops, being the expected reinforcement from Martinico, were seen putting into Courland bay in Tobago. 1781.  
May 30.

As the ground at Concordia is strong, and commands a view of both sides of the island, it was therefore a desirable post for the British troops; but the trench which had been dug there some years before, was almost entirely filled up; and, though it had been cleared out, would have required a much greater number of men than were at that time on the island to defend it. For these, and other reasons, the engineers were of opinion, that the place was no longer tenable against such a force as now threatened to assail it, and it was resolved to retreat to Caledonia. This place is situated in the centre of the island, and by nature exceedingly strong. From thence to the north side is a road six miles in length, and so narrow, that two men cannot walk abreast. On each side there is an impenetrable forest extending some miles in length; so that a handful of men could defend this post against an army.

Mr Fergusson, now thinking himself secure in his fortress, and having a few days provision, made every preparation necessary for a vigorous defence. The Marquis de Bouille, who had now arrived from Martinico, deceived by the silence of the British march, and by centuries being left after the garrison went away, sent a flag to Concordia, in expectation to find the troops still there; but being disappointed, he sent orders to the Marquis de Chilleu, governor of Dominica, to land at Man of War bay with 300 or 400 men, he himself following with the rest of the troops for some part of the way. But having received information, that the British forces were still four miles before him, in a strong country, he ordered some adjoining plantations to be

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destroyed, in hopes of making the inhabitants surrender. Orders were at the same time given to burn four plantations more in four hours, and the like to be repeated at the same interval, until the island should be either surrendered or laid waste.

This proceeding had the desired effect. The militia, exhausted with fatigue, in despair of being relieved, and exasperated at seeing their estates in flames, refused to hold out any longer; nor could all the remonstrances of the governor produce the smallest effect upon them; so that finding his authority entirely at an end, he was obliged to let them make the best terms they could, which, however, were on the whole very favourable, and not inferior to those granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

De Grasse  
leaves the  
West In-  
dies, July  
5.

Arrives at  
Chesapeak,  
Aug. 28.

The surrender of Tobago took place on the 1st of June, but M. de Grasse remained at Fort Royal in Martinico until the 5th of July, when he set sail for Cape Francois in Hispaniola. Here he arrived about the middle of the month, when being reinforced by five ships of the line, he set sail in the beginning of August with a very large convoy, which having seen out of danger, and touched at the Havannah for money necessary to prosecute his other measures, he set out on his grand expedition for North America, and arrived with 28 sail of the line and several frigates in the bay of Chesapeak, towards the end of the month. His success here, and the consequent disaster of the army under Cornwallis, which entirely ruined the British affairs on the continent, have been already related. We shall therefore pursue M. de Grasse no farther at present, but take a view of affairs on the eastern continent to the time of this catastrophe.



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*Spain joins the confederacy against Britain—Manifestoes on both sides—Gibraltar blockaded—Rodney takes a large Spanish convoy—Defeats Don Langara—Omoa taken by Captain Dalrymple—Unsuccessful attempts at Gibraltar—Spain reduces West Florida—Origin of the Dutch war—Henry Laurens taken—Attempt on St Vincent's—Capture of St Eustatius, St Martin, Saba, Demerary, and Iffiquibo.*

THE recess of the Parliament in 1779, presented a new, and very unusual appearance of danger to this country. The accession of the Spanish monarchy to the confederacy formed between France and America, of which we have already taken notice, seemed indeed to decide matters entirely in favour of our enemies, who, without such a mighty increase of adverse power, appeared to be already almost overmatched. That Britain, in her divided and dismembered situation, should be able to resist such an enormous force, seemed astonishing to all Europe; but when the matter is fairly considered, we shall find that this resistance arose not so much from the efforts of Britain, as from the ill conduct of her adversaries, who either did not know how to use their power to advantage, or, through jealousy of each other, did not wish to use it in concert. But though the divided and encumbered state of the allies prevented the striking of any signal or decisive blow, by which Britain might have been crushed at once, it was a matter of most serious concern to every thinking person, to behold the regular progressive growth of the enemy's naval force, and that not only in the number of ships, but likewise in naval tactics, which, in the present case, was so remarkable, that the British seamen could not but be amazed to see their own peculiar maritime skill and dexterity transferred to the enemy.

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1779  
Spain accedes to the confederacy against Britain.

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1779.  
Memorials  
and mani-  
festoes on  
both sides.  
June 16.

On the 16th of June, 1779, the Marquis of Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, presented a very hostile paper, which instantly produced not only the recall of Lord Grantham from Madrid, but a proclamation for making reprisals on Spain, with another containing regulations for the distribution of prizes during the continuance of the war with that country. A proclamation was also issued soon after the rising of the Parliament, announcing the intelligence of an intended invasion, with orders for properly guarding the coasts; and, on the first approach of the enemy, for the immediate removal of horses, oxen, cattle, and provisions, to places of security, and at a proper distance. These papers were followed by counter manifestoes on the part of the enemy. A paper was likewise issued by the Court of France, under the title of "An exposition of the motives and conduct of his Most Christian Majesty towards England," in which the following are the avowed motives of the war by the united courts, viz. "To avenge their respective injuries, and to put an end to that tyrannical empire which England had usurped, and pretended to maintain upon the ocean." Before the end of the month two royal Spanish schedules *and a circular letter were issued, and the former signed in five days after the delivery of the rescript* at London. These, besides being in effect a declaration of war, likewise held out to the subjects of Spain, a justification of their monarch for having recourse to that extremity, along with regulations to be observed by his officers, in respect to the persons and property of the English within the kingdom, and an interdiction of all commerce and connection between the two nations. In the circular letter three points were insisted upon: 1st. That whilst the Court of London sought to amuse that of Spain in seeking delays, and in finally refusing to admit the honourable and equitable proposals which his Majesty had made, in quality of mediator, to establish peace between France, England, and the American Provinces, the British Cabinet offered clandestinely, by means of secret emissaries, conditions of like purpose with the propositions of his Majesty; 2dly. That these offers and conditions were not to strange or indifferent persons, but directly and immediately to the Minister of the American Provinces residing at Paris; And, 3dly. That the British Minister had omitted nothing to procure, by many other methods, new enemies to his Majesty.

These lesser papers were followed by a manifesto of a most formidable length, where the motives which

had induced his Catholic Majesty to withdraw his ambassador, and act in an hostile manner against England, were amply set forth. In this the precise number of charges mentioned in the Marquis of Almadovar's paper was scrupulously adhered to. In one division were enumerated, eleven offences given by the Court of Britain; in a second, twelve; and, in a third, eighty-six; at the same time assuring the world, that they had abstained from lesser causes of complaint, as being too numerous for specification. These charges may be arranged under the five following heads, viz. Violations of territorial rights; insults, or injuries to the Spanish flag, navy, or commerce; injustice of the English Admiralty-courts, particularly or entirely in the West Indies; numberless wrongs, of various kinds, in the Bay of Honduras; and personal contempt, insult, and injury to the Spanish monarch during the late negotiations for peace, in which he assumed the character of mediator.

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But though these were the ostensible reasons given by Spain for entering into this war, we are at no loss to guess the true one to have been a design to reduce the naval power of Great Britain, and which appears unexpectedly in the close of this manifesto. "To attain," says he, "as before mentioned, the much-desired end of a secure peace, it is absolutely necessary to curtail and destroy the arbitrary proceedings and maxims of the English maritime power, to the attainment of which all other maritime powers, and even all nations in general, are become much interested."

The war commenced in Europe on the part of Spain, by a blockade of the fortress of Gibraltar, both by sea and land, at the time that our naval inferiority, not only on the Mediterranean, but every where else, threatened to spread universal destruction over the empire. In the beginning of 1780, however, the naval power of Great Britain seemed to revive. Sir George Rodney being appointed to command the fleet in the West Indies, had orders likewise to proceed, in his way thither, with a strong squadron to the relief of Gibraltar, which had been reduced to considerable distress for want of provisions. This inconvenience, indeed, had been the more severely felt by reason of the enmity of the States of Barbary; who, contrary to all former example, and laying aside that mortal hatred which for ages had subsisted between Barbary and Spain, began to take little less than an open part with that Court. Thus the fortress of Gibraltar had not only

Gibraltar  
blockaded.  
July.

1780.

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Sir George  
Rodney  
takes a large  
Spanish  
convoy.

been cut off from all British supply, but likewise from that which it had been accustomed to receive from the coast of Africa. Fortune, however, seemed to smile upon the enterprizes of the new commander. He had been but a very few days at sea, when he fell in with a very considerable convoy bound from St Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of 15 sail of merchantmen, under the guard of a fine new 64 gun ship, four frigates from 32 to 26 guns, and two smaller armed vessels. The whole fleet was taken, ships of war as well as the rest; and as the greater part of the vessels were loaded with wheat, flour, and other species of provisions, and the remainder with naval stores, &c. the capture was exceedingly fortunate. The former were by the admiral sent to Gibraltar, the latter to Britain.

Defeats  
Don Juan  
de Langara.

Jan. 16.

This piece of success was only a prelude to another still greater and more brilliant. About a week after, the admiral fell in, off Cape St Vincent, with a Spanish Squadron of eleven ships of the line under the command of Don Juan de Langara. The enemy being greatly inferior in force, endeavoured all they could to avoid an engagement, for which the circumstances of a high wind, rough sea, and dangerous coast were extremely unfavourable. In order to counteract this design, however, Sir George Rodney made signals for a general chase, and the ships to engage as they came up; taking at the same time the lee-gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own port. The engagement commenced on the 16th of January 1780, and the firing began between the headmost ships. The night was dark, rainy, and tempestuous; and the situation of the fleets was rendered more terrible by their being almost involved in the shoals of St Lucar. The Spaniards defended themselves with great resolution, though inferior both in strength and skill to the enemy. In the beginning of the action, the San Domingo, of 70 guns, and 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished; at the same time that the British man of war with which she was engaged, narrowly escaped the like fate. The action and pursuit continued until two o'clock in the morning, when the headmost of the enemy's line struck to the admiral. The Spanish admiral behaved with the greatest gallantry; but his ship, the Phoenix of 80 guns, being excessively shattered, and reduced almost to a mere wreck, he was at last obliged to strike. Three other ships of 70 guns were taken, and safely carried into port. The San Julian, of 70 guns, commanded by the Marquis de Medina was taken, the officers shifted,

and a lieutenant, with 70 British seamen, put on board; but by her afterwards running ashore, the victors in their turn became vanquished. Another ship of the same force was likewise taken, but by running upon the breakers, was totally lost. Four escaped to Cadiz, two of which were greatly damaged.

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Such were the peculiar circumstances attending this engagement, that, notwithstanding the inferiority of the enemy in point of force, few actions have required a higher degree of intrepidity, more consummate naval skill, or greater dexterity of seamanship; and we may add, few have ever been attended with more particular instances of good fortune, by which the British got clear of dangers against which no human skill or foresight could possibly have guarded. Even the light of the ensuing day was scarcely sufficient to extricate several capital ships from the most imminent danger; and it was not until the second day after the action, that they had entirely cleared the shoals, and got into deep water.

The humanity of Captain Macbride, of the *Bienfaisant*, to the admiral's crew, was very remarkable. A bad kind of small-pox prevailed on board his ship, with which circumstance that gentleman acquainted Don Langara; at the same time offering, to prevent the inevitable mischief and danger which must attend the shifting of the prisoners, by sending an officer with 100 men on board the *Phoenix*, to trust to the admiral's honour, that neither his officers nor men (amounting to more than 700) should in any case of separation or otherwise, in any degree, interrupt the British seamen, whether with respect to navigating the ship, or defending her against an enemy. This proposal was thankfully embraced, and the conditions strictly adhered to by the Spanish admiral; for, though there was no other ship but the *Bienfaisant* in sight, and the sea and weather were exceedingly rough, his people gave every assistance in refitting the *Phoenix*, and navigating her to the Bay of Gibraltar.

Humanity  
of Capt.  
Macbride.

The arms of Spain had been no less unfortunate on the western continent. In the autumn of 1779, the British logwood cutters on the Mosquito and Bay of Honduras shores being in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had dispatched Captain Dalrymple (commandant of a new corps raised in Ireland for the service of that island) with a small force, and some arms, to their relief. Sir Peter Parker had also detached a small squadron, consisting of three frigates and an armed schooner, to the Bay of Honduras, in

C H A P. order to intercept some Spanish register ships, which,  
 XXIII. however, escaped into the harbour, and were protected  
 by the strong fortrefs of St Fernando de Omoa, where  
 1779. they were too well secured to be attacked with any  
 Omoa taken by Capt. Dalrymple. prospect of success by the present small squadron.

In the mean time, 500 or 600 Spaniards had arrived at St George's Key, the principal settlement of the baymen on the coast of Honduras, which they plundered; and, besides, treating the people with great barbarity, sent numbers of them, with their families, as prisoners to Merida. At last, however, some succours having arrived, the Baymen recovered their spirits, and, with the assistance of several bold and active officers of the army and navy, not only drove the Spaniards from St George's Key, but determined to act on the offensive. Fortunately for this purpose, the commodore fell in with the Porcupine sloop of war, with Captain Dalrymple, and his detachment of loyal Irish under convoy. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces, in order to make an attack by sea and land upon the fortrefs of Omoa.

The Spaniards had for many years been at great expence in fortifying this spot. The walls (the stones of which were raised in the sea at above twenty leagues distance) were about 28 feet in height, surrounded by a deep dry ditch; and the parapets, of solid stone, were 18 feet in thickness. The town itself was without defence, and the fort was also deficient in artillery, as well as in a garrison to defend it. The force which assailed it amounted to about 500 men, and those who defended it were about as many. In advancing to the town, the British were so much annoyed by the fire from the town on their left flank, that, after deliberating an hour, in order if possible to refrain from such a piece of severity, they were obliged to set it on fire. The commander of the expedition, considering that a regular siege was totally out of his power, for want of artillery, and that his party would moulder fast away under the inconveniencies of the climate, and constant fatigue, determined to attempt the place at once by escalade. Having concerted proper measures, therefore, a light frigate was towed in close to the fort in the night time, while the heavier ones took their stations in such a manner as to be able to commence the attack on their side about three in the morning of October 16th, giving a signal beforehand which was to direct the attack from the land. An hundred and fifty men, in four columns, and carrying the scaling ladders, were moved down the

hills, where they lay waiting for the signal. On perceiving this, they advanced with the greatest silence, and with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries; which, with the heavy cannonade from the ships, served to deafen, as well as to distract the enemy; so that they passed undiscovered by the Spanish centries to the very entrance of the ditch. Here they were discovered; but, after a moment's hesitation, they advanced to fix their ladders to the wall, immediately under a battery of five guns. The first ladder was demolished by the flank-guns of another battalion, a midshipman killed, and several others wounded; but, though the other ladders were damaged, they were not rendered useless. The garrison, in the mean time, seem to have been seized with a panic; for two British seamen having mounted the wall, and levelled their muskets, without firing, at a body of above 60 of the enemy, the latter remained motionless whilst the rest were ascending; after which, they fled on all sides, in spite of every endeavour of their officers to prevent them. Above 100 escaped over the wall on the opposite side, but the greatest number took shelter in the casemates. In these circumstances, the governor and principal officers, making no request but for their lives, presented their swords and keys to the British commanders, with a surrender of the fort, garrison, and ships. The prisoners, exclusive of the officers and inhabitants, amounted to 355. The treasure had been removed from the castle, on the approach of the British forces; but that on board the galleons, with the cargoes of other vessels in the harbour, and the value of the ships themselves, were estimated at about three millions of piastres or pieces of eight. But, what was more severely felt than even this loss of treasure, was that of 250 quintals of quicksilver newly arrived from Old Spain; a commodity so essential to the purification and to the separation of their gold and silver ores from other bodies, that the value of their mines must depend upon its constant supply. This, therefore, they offered to ransom at almost any price; but the conquerors, preferring the public good to their own private emolument, would not on any terms part with an article, which, though of no great value to themselves, was of such vast consequence to the enemy. On the same principle they refused to ransom the castle, for which high offers were likewise made, and left a garrison for its defence; though their views in this respect were frustrated by its subsequent loss, occasioned more by the unhealthiness of the climate than any vigour exerted by the enemy.

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A convention was concluded between the British and Spanish commanders, extending to the redemption of the Baymen and their families who had been carried off prisoners to Merida, as well as some other English, and some Mosquito Indians, who had for a longer or shorter time been in a state of imprisonment or slavery. The governor and garrison were enlarged for the present, as prisoners of war upon parole, but bound to return and surrender themselves at a given time, if the conditions were not complied with: But, as the aversion of the Spaniards to the Baymen was well known, it was thought necessary to retain hostages on the occasion; and, as a farther security, the church-plate, and religious ornaments, for which all ransom had been refused, was retained as a deposit, to be returned freely as a present, along with the hostages, upon the due performance of the conditions.

Extraordinary instance of magnanimity in a British sailor.

In the course of this affair, a most extraordinary instance of magnanimity is said to have occurred in the British army. A common sailor, who had leaped singly over the wall, armed with a cutlass in each hand, that he might be the better prepared to resist his numerous enemies, fell in with a Spanish officer just roused from sleep, and who had forgotten his sword in the hurry and confusion. The generous tar, disdaining to take any advantage of an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquish so happy an opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, presented one of the cutlasses to him, telling him, at the same time, "I scorn any advantage; you are now upon a footing with me." The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place when he expected little or no mercy, could only be equalled by the admiration which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.

Unsuccessful attempts of the Spaniards at Gibraltar.

In the mean time, the siege of Gibraltar was carried on by the Spaniards with unremitting assiduity. They likewise laboured incessantly at their works, both to cover the camp at St Roque, and to further their intended operations in time to come. All the capital efforts of the Spanish nation indeed were directed towards that object; and fortunate it was for Britain that they were exerted for such a trifling purpose, and which, trifling as it was, could scarce be accomplished by any force whatever, unless it had been possible to cut off all supplies by sea as well as by land, and thus to reduce the garrison to a necessity of surrendering for want of provisions. In this they had been disappointed the preceding year by



Sir George Rodney; from which time they had redoubled their efforts for cutting off all relief by sea, so that the difficulty of supplying the garrison continually increased. The ardour of their enterprizes, however, in attempting to intercept the vessels with provisions, was greatly damped by the presence of the Panther and Experiment ships of war, with a royal sloop, which lay in the bay. A scheme was, therefore, laid by the Spanish commanders, for burning this little squadron, with some ordnance transports which lay under their protection. A very dark night, between the 6th and 7th of June 1780, was fixed upon for the execution of the project. Seven fire-ships were excellently prepared for the purpose.—These were supported by a number of row-boats and gallies, filled with men, and with every kind of offensive arms. At a greater distance, a squadron of ships of war, under the Admiral Don Barcelo, stood off and on at the entrance of the bay, not only to cover and embolden the attack, but to intercept any vessels which might attempt to escape. The wind and weather were highly favourable, and the darkness of the night seemed to insure success. The British commanders had not the smallest notice of their danger, until they were alarmed at one in the morning by the approaching flames of the burning fire-ships. Without surprise or consternation at so dangerous an appearance, they, with the greatest presence of mind, instantly manned all the boats; and the officers and seamen, with their usual intrepidity, met and grappled the fire-ships; and then, amidst the bursting of shells, and all the horrors of a scene which teemed with instant destruction, boldly towed them off, and run them on different parts of the shore. They had scarcely got clear of this first set of fire-ships, when two large vessels were perceived bearing down directly on the Panther; but they were received with such a fierce cannonade, that they were soon set on fire, and dispersed like the former. During the whole time a heavy fire from the ships and the town batteries was kept up against the gallies and boats; but the darkness prevented any certain knowledge of the effect. By the remains of one of these vessels, which were examined in the morning, she appeared to have been about the size of a 50 gun ship; and, from the quantity of unconsumed materials and combustibles which were found in that and others, it was evident, that much labour and expence were bestowed upon their fitting out and equipment. At break of day, the besieged had the satisfaction of be-

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June 6.

**C H A P.** holding Don Barcelo's baffled squadron going back into  
**XXIII.** Algetiras, while not a single man was lost on the British side during the whole affair, which carried so dreadful an appearance. It seems, indeed, that the Spaniards, at least in the seven first fire-ships, had not courage to bring them near enough before they kindled them; and, perhaps, it will probably be found on the whole, that, excepting in some very peculiar situation, or a conflict with some very contemptible enemy, it will require all the professional boldness and dexterity, and all the natural fortitude of British seamen, to manage fire-ships in such a manner as will render them productive of any great advantage.

1780.

Though the Spaniards laboured hard in pushing on their works towards the fortress, they had frequently the mortification of seeing, when they were nearly completed, the fruits of much time and labour destroyed in a few hours by the weight of fire from the enemies batteries. It seemed indeed to be a maxim with General Elliot to let them proceed almost to the completion of their works, and then at once to overthrow their hopes in the manner above mentioned. Some judicious and successful sallies were likewise occasionally, though sparingly, made by the garrison. In one of these they brought three pieces of cannon into the fortress, from a work which they had taken, with some slaughter of the enemy. At length, however, the invention of the Spaniards was whetted in such a manner as to project a scheme which gave the garrison great trouble, and in the end produced the entire destruction of the town, increasing to a great degree, at the same time, the dangers and difficulties of the defence. This was the framing a number of gun boats, of a construction calculated to carry very heavy cannon and mortars, for the purpose of cannonading and bombarding the town and works in the night; while their own lowness, with the difficulty of perceiving, as well as of hitting the mark, preserved them in a great degree from the fire of the batteries. The total want of a naval force on the part of the garrison rendered this measure effectual, by disabling them from attacking the enemy in their own way. But its being a work of labour, time, and experiment, prevented the effect of these floating batteries from being fully experienced till the following year.

**West Flo-** In the western continent the Spanish arms were at-  
**rida redu-** tended with much better success. Don Bernardo de  
**ced by the**  
**Spaniards.** Galvez, governor of Louisiana, whose success in 1779

we have already mentioned, was emboldened by his success at that time to repeat his expedition in 1780, when he reduced the town and fort of Mobile, which, by considerably diminishing General Campbell's small force in West Florida, naturally extended his views to the reduction of the whole colony, which would be insured by the taking of Pensacola; and to this he was encouraged by the involved state of the British affairs, which every day became more and more embarrassed in all quarters of the globe. After some unsuccessful attempts, in the year 1780, which had failed in the outset, Don Galvez went to the Havannah, in order to take upon him the command of a great expedition from thence, which was intended for the beginning of the year 1781. In this, however, great difficulties occurred. A violent hurricane had nearly ruined the Spanish fleet. Four capital ships, besides others of different denominations, were totally lost, and all on board perished; the remaining ships put back to the Havannah, very much shattered and dismasted, and the whole considerably injured. They were, however, enabled speedily to refit by the arrival of four store ships from Spain; after which, knowing that there was no British naval force to oppose them, without waiting till the whole fleet was in readiness, they dispatched five sail of the line, with several smaller vessels of war, to conduct Don Galvez, with between 7000 and 8000 land forces, on the expedition. With this force he arrived before Pensacola on the 9th of March 1781, being afterwards followed by Don Solano with the remainder of the fleet; amounting in all to fifteen sail of the line.

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1781.

1781.  
March 9.

The principal strength of this settlement seems to have been in the defence of the harbour; for while it could be made good, the enemy would not only be exposed to great difficulties and disadvantages in their landing, but afterwards in the covering and carrying on of their approaches, and which would still be too distant from the works to produce much effect. But the land batteries were not sufficient to guard the entrance without some naval support; and that which they now had consisted only of two small vessels of war. By these the batteries were gallantly seconded; and both together gave much trouble, and caused no small delay to the enemy. Their vast superiority of force, however, when it could be brought to bear, was altogether irresistible. The passage was therefore forced, the landing effected, and the siege commenced by sea

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and land. The garrison was composed of the remains of different British regiments ; Maryland and Pennsylvania Loyalists ; some of the German troops of Waldeck ; together with sailors, marines, inhabitants, and negroes ; along with a few Indians. Amidst such a motley assemblage, however, it was much to the honour of General Campbell, and no less praiseworthy in the garrison themselves, that the whole behaved bravely, patiently, and with proper obedience to their military commanders, through every part of the siege.

After finding the inutility of their small naval force to perform any effectual service, the armed vessels were burnt, and the garrison reinforced by their crews. Some well directed sallies did considerable execution ; and, notwithstanding the weakness of the garrison, the month of May was commenced before the besiegers had done any thing decisive ; nor would they have, in all probability, accomplished their point without a great deal of trouble, had not the hopes of the besieged been frustrated by the following accident :—The principal defence of the place consisted in a strong advanced redoubt, by which it was covered, and which commanded the narrow approach to it on the land side. This was accordingly to be supported to the last ; and it had hitherto been defended with great spirit, so that the works had suffered much less than could have been imagined.

May 8.

On the 8th of May, however, the accidental falling of a bomb near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its centre, decided the fate of Pensacola. The bursting of the bomb forced open the door, set fire to the powder within, and in an instant reduced the body of the redoubt to an heap of rubbish. An hundred men suffered by this explosion ; three-fourths of whom lost their lives, and the remainder were miserably maimed or wounded. Two flank-works still remained entire ; and though the extraordinary coolness and intrepidity of the officers who commanded in these, with the excellent use they made of their artillery, the besiegers, who rushed on to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this accident, were instantly repulsed. Thus time was obtained for carrying off the wounded, and such artillery as were not buried in the ruins. But the enemy now bringing up their whole force to attack the flank redoubts, they were of necessity abandoned. The enemy then made a shew of advancing to storm the body of the place ; but perceiving the garrison well prepared to receive them, they thought proper to relinquish their design.

Such advantages, however, were now derived from the possession of the ruined redoubt and the two flank-works, that the place was no longer tenable; for they commanded the principal batteries so effectually with their small arms, that the soldiers and seamen could not stand to their guns; in which circumstances it would have been madness to contend any longer, especially as not the most distant view of any assistance appeared. Even in this extremity the garrison submitted implicitly to the will of their officers, not a single word being heard about surrendering the place, until Mr Chester, the governor of the province, and General Campbell, sensible of the impossibility of farther defence, made proposals for an honourable capitulation; which being accepted, the place was delivered up, and the whole province fell into the hands of the enemy. This capitulation took place on the 9th of May 1781, two months after the enemy had made their appearance.

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1781.

Capitulation,  
on May 9.

Thus unprosperously did the affairs of Britain go on in the eastern and western continents in the year 1781. Another European enemy she had still to oppose, namely the States of Holland, with whom and this country an appearance of friendship had been kept up for more than a century. Like the other European nations, however, they had, during the course of the American war, endeavoured to promote their own interest by trading with the revolted colonies, at the same time keeping an appearance of friendship with Britain, and pretending to discourage any such proceedings, which they knew would be disagreeable to the government of this country. It was impossible that these under-hand dealings could long be concealed; and indeed Britain had, from the very beginning, great cause of displeasure with the conduct of the Dutch, and no small degree of grudge subsisted between the two nations. In the year 1780, several circumstances concurred to blow these hidden seeds of discord into a violent flame. In the beginning of this year, Government received intelligence that a number of Dutch ships, laden with timber and naval stores for the French service, not being absolutely allowed protection by the States on their voyage, intended to escape the danger which they apprehended from the British cruisers, by accompanying Captain Byland, who, with a small squadron of men of war and frigates, was to escort a convoy to the Mediterranean. In consequence of this intelligence, Captain Fielding was sent out with a proper force, in order to examine the convoy, and to

Origin of  
the Dutch  
war.

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Capt. Fielding  
seizes  
from Dutch  
transports.

seize any vessels which contained those goods that were contraband. When the fleets met, Captain Fielding demanded permission to search the vessels, which was refused; notwithstanding which he sent his boats for that purpose, but they were fired at, and prevented from executing their orders, by the Dutch. On this the captain, having fired a shot a-head of the Dutch admiral, it was answered by a broadside; which being returned, the Dutchman struck his colours, as being in no condition to pursue the engagement. Most of the vessels, however, which carried the goods in question had made their escape, through the length and darkness of the night, and by keeping close to the shore, after which they proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The few that remained with naval stores on board were stopped, and the Dutch admiral then informed, that he was at liberty to hoist his colours, and prosecute his voyage. The Dutch commander, however, chose only to hoist his colours; but he refused to separate from any part of his convoy, and therefore accompanied the British commander to Spithead, where he remained till further orders from his masters. The merchant ships were afterwards condemned by the Court of Admiralty.

Though this behaviour of the Dutch was in fact nothing more than what was openly avowed by the combination of the rest of the European powers, now known by the name of the Armed Neutrality, it was nevertheless much more grievously resented. The Northern Confederacy was indeed too powerful to be meddled with; but the weak and divided state of Holland rendered that nation no object of terror. It was accordingly determined, by strong measures, not only to endeavour to prevent the Republic from acceding to the Northern Confederacy, but likewise thereby to induce that state to afford the succours stipulated by treaty to England, and which all negotiation had hitherto failed of obtaining. It was also known, that the States were at that time divided into two factions; of which one, supported by the Stadtholder, favoured the cause of Great Britain; the other, headed by Van Berkel, that of France. It was therefore, not unreasonably, expected, that an appearance of vigorous determination, along with a warm expression of resentment on the subject, would tend much to strengthen and support the English party, and to depress that of France, which indeed had increased exceedingly since the beginning of the American war.

For these and other reasons, after previous but ineffectual warning given by the British ministers, both at London and the Hague, a royal proclamation was issued at London on the 17th of April, in which the non-performance of the States General with respect to the succours stipulated by treaty, was considered as a relinquishment of the alliance so long subsisting between both countries; and that they had thereby placed themselves in the condition of a neutral power, bound by no treaty or connexion with this kingdom. It was therefore held, that upon every principle of wisdom and justice, they should be considered only as standing in that distant relation in which they had placed themselves; that the subjects of the United Provinces were from thenceforth to be considered on the same footing with those of other neutral states, not privileged by treaty; and his Majesty suspended provisionally, and till further order, all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the treaties then subsisting, and more particularly those contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London on the 11th of December 1674.

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1780.  
Royal proclamation,  
April 17.

This unfavourable appearance of matters was soon after rendered much worse, by the capture of the Mercury; a Congress packet, which was taken by the Vestal, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Henry Laurens, who was on his passage as ambassador to Holland. When he perceived the hostile vessel approaching, he threw over-board the trunk containing his papers; but the weight appended to it being too light, the papers were recovered; and it then appeared, that the city of Amsterdam had already concluded a commercial treaty with the Americans. Laurens himself was brought to London on the 29th of September, and after being examined by the Secretaries of State, committed close prisoner to the Tower on the 6th of October, on a charge of high treason.

Capture of  
Henry  
Laurens,  
President  
of the  
Congress.

The commitment of Mr Laurens to the Tower was instantly followed by a very angry memorial to the States General, which they received with great coolness, and replied, that a full answer should be given as soon as their constitution would admit. The consequence of this was a manifesto and declaration of war, issued at St James's, December 20, 1780.

Sept. 29.  
War de-  
clared,  
and hos-  
ilities com-  
menced.

On the same day, general letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Dutch, and their ships

Dec. 20.

**C H A P.** in the different ports ordered to be seized.—Hostilities  
**XXIII.** were not then long in commencing. The giddy mul-  
 1781. titude were pleased with the beginning of a new war,  
 and fancied themselves already enriched with the spoils  
 of the enemy; though many regretted it, not only  
 as adding a new enemy to the prodigious combination  
 already formed against us, but from a persuasion that it  
 was contrary to the interests of both nations.

The first instances of hostility were the captures of  
 ships, of which a considerable number were taken in a  
 short time. The greatest blow, however, was the tak-  
 ing of the island of St Eustatius in the West Indies.  
 This happened about a month after an unsuccessful at-  
 tempt on the Island of St Vincent's; which, it was  
 thought, would be so much weakened in consequence  
 of the hurricane, that it would be incapable of making  
 any resistance. In this, however, the British were  
 disappointed; for after landing some troops with the  
 marines on the island, and continuing there for a day,  
 the enemy were found in such force, and their works  
 in such good condition, that the commanders were  
 obliged to re-embark them without venturing an attack.

Attempt  
 on St Vin-  
 cents.

The island of St Eustatius is in itself barren and  
 contemptible, but was long the seat of a most lucrative  
 commerce, and indeed might be considered as the grand  
 free port of the West Indies and America, and as a ge-  
 neral market and magazine for all nations. Its most  
 favourable seasons, were during the times of warfare  
 among its neighbours, owing to its neutrality and situ-  
 ation, with its unbounded and unrestrained freedom of  
 trade. So strong was the spirit of commerce in this  
 place, that even when Holland itself was engaged in  
 war, the same freedom of trade continued, and the  
 enemy were not only supplied with all kinds of com-  
 mon necessities, but even with naval and military  
 stores, as if no rupture with the parent state had taken  
 place. The island itself has but one landing place,  
 which might easily be rendered inaccessible to an ene-  
 my; but hostility and war being totally out of the  
 ideas of such a people no thought of defence could be  
 entertained. The inhabitants, indeed, were by no  
 means numerous; but, by reason of their connections  
 in trade, included in their number a greater or lesser  
 portion of the natives of almost all trading countries.

Capture of  
 St Eusta-  
 tius, Feb.  
 3.

On the 3d of February 1781, the British fleet and  
 army, after exciting an alarm on the coasts of Mar-  
 tinico, only with a view of covering their real design,  
 suddenly encompassed the island with a great force,



Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor, requiring him to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a declaration, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. Mr de Graaff, the governor, totally ignorant of the rupture between the two nations, could at first scarcely believe that the officer who delivered the message was serious; but being soon undeceived, he returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it; only recommending the town and inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of the British commanders.

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The wealth found in the place was so immense, that it astonished the conquerors themselves, notwithstanding their being already pretty well acquainted with its circumstances. The whole island seemed to be only one vast magazine. The storehouses were not only filled with various commodities, but the beach was covered with hogsheds of sugar and tobacco. The whole value, at a moderate calculation, was estimated at more than three millions sterling. But this was only a part. Above 250 vessels of all denominations, and many of them richly laden, were taken in the bay, exclusive of a Dutch frigate of war of 38 guns, and five lesser ones.

In like manner were reduced the small islands of St Martin and Saba; and Sir George Rodney being informed, that a fleet of about 30 large ships, richly laden with sugar, and other West India commodities, had just before his arrival sailed from this island for Holland, under convoy of a flag-ship of 60 guns, instantly dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy, and the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colours, an engagement ensued between him in the Mars, and Captain Reynolds in the Monarch, in which the Dutch admiral being killed, his ship immediately struck her colours, and the whole convoy were taken.

St Martin  
and Saba.  
reduced.

By this unexpected blow the Dutch West India Company, with the magistracy and citizens of Amsterdam, suffered exceedingly. However, the greatest sufferers were undoubtedly the British merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and some acts of Parliament made to encourage the bringing of their property from the islands lately taken by the French, had collected a vast quantity of West India as well as European goods in this place. All the property was indiscriminately confiscated as Dutch,

**CHAP. XXIII.** The keeping up of Dutch colours in the nominal fort at St Eustatius, rendering it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels, a considerable number of prizes were taken by this artifice. Indeed, the passion for plunder and rapine seemed at this time totally to engross all ranks of people in Britain, and the Dutch appeared to be the chief objects of wrath. A squadron of privateers, fitted out principally at Bristol, boldly entered the rivers of Demerary and Issequibo, (though deemed highly dangerous, if not utterly unnavigable to strangers), and with great skill and intrepidity brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in the rivers. As this expedition was undertaken before the privateers could be provided with letters of marque or reprisals, they trusted to the honour of government not to hurt them in executing what they supposed to be of service to their country.

Demerary, Issequibo, and Berbices submit.

These settlements, with the neighbouring one of Berbices, make part of that of Surinam in the province of Guiana. Being at that time in a very defenceless situation, and dreading to fall into the hands of cruel adventurers, equally unfaithful to their word, and ignorant of the laws of nations, they had already offered their submission to the governor of Barbadoes, requiring no other terms than those which had been already granted to St Eustatius and its dependencies. But, as both parties were equally ignorant of these terms, the newly proposed subjects were necessarily referred to the commander in chief.

A deputation being now sent by the Dutch colonists to St Eustatius, for information with regard to the terms on which it had surrendered, they found that they had made a very imprudent demand, and that the terms they required were in fact no other than that they might be deprived of all their goods, and banished from their habitations. Such indeed had been the general treatment of most of the inhabitants of St Eustatius; but the universal odium which these rigorous measures had already begun to excite, with the impropriety of applying them to a people who had voluntarily submitted to the British government, obtained better treatment for these colonies. In order to assign some plausible reason for this difference of treatment, a nice line of distinction was drawn between the honesty and good properties of Dutchmen inhabiting continents and those living in islands, the matter being decided entirely in favour of the former. The inhabitants of Demerary

Hard treatment of the inhabitants of St Eustatius.

and Iſlequibo, therefore, as being more virtuous, and worthy of the enjoyment of a greater ſhare of terreſtrial happineſs than thoſe of St Euſtati-  
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Very different, however, was the fate of their unfortunate countrymen at St Euſtati-  
 us. Condemned to the reproach of treachery and perjury, openly imputed to them in the gazettes, they were treated as people unworthy of any degree of even protection or ſecurity, much leſs of indulgence or favour.

This extraordinary behaviour was highly reſented by the Britiſh Weſt India merchants, who had ſuffered exceedingly in the capture of St Euſtati-  
 us. Thoſe who reſided in the Weſt Indies, having an opportunity, from their vicinity, of being better acquainted with the circumſtances, and of conſequence greatly irritated by the injuſtice ſuppoſed to be done the inhabitants, drew up ſtrong remonſtrances, which they preſented to Admiral Rodney, and which at laſt produced great numbers of law-ſuits, very tedious in their determination. Thus a ſettled diſlike began at length to take place betwixt the commander in chief and the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands he had been ſent to protect. The admiral vented his indignation by ſtrong charges, and a harſh and unuſual tone in his letters to Miniſtry, which were diſcoverable even in thoſe parts of them held out to the public in the gazettes. In theſe he declared that the ſettlements of Demerary and Iſlequibo would in a few years employ more ſhips, and produce more revenue than all the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands put together. By another paper of the ſame nature, he laid a very heavy charge againſt the Weſt India merchants, as having, regardless of their duty, contracted with the enemy to ſupply them with naval and other ſtores, as well as proviſions; ſtrengthening the charge, at the ſame time, by an aſſurance that he would uſe every method in his power for the detection and preventing of ſuch dangerous treaſon.

In order to vindicate themſelves from ſuch a heavy charge, the Aſſembly of St Chriſtopher's publicly offered a large reward for the diſcovery of thoſe traitors; but this being attended with no ſucceſs, they next demanded a public juſtification or refutation of the charge, which, however, was not obtained. The merchants of this iſland, who had likewiſe ſhared in the ſufferings conſequent on the capture of St Euſtati-  
 us, and even

CHAP. the legislature of the island, took up the matter with  
 XXIII. great spirit. Several strong remonstrances were pre-  
 1781. sented to the commander in chief, in which they set  
 forth, that their connections with that island, and the  
 property they had lodged in it, were all in consequence  
 and sanction of repeated acts of the British Parliament;  
 that their commerce had besides been founded upon the  
 fair principles of merchandise, and conducted according  
 to the rules and maxims adopted by almost all trading  
 nations. To these remonstrances little or no answer  
 was made; until at last, after much application, and  
 as a favour to an individual, a note was given in writ-  
 ing, the substance of which was, that the commander  
 in chief had been too much occupied in his Majesty's  
 service to be able to consider their remonstrance par-  
 ticularly, and until this was done, no particular answer  
 could be expected. In the mean time, he charged  
 them with treasonable practices, and concluded with  
 the following very emphatic sentence; that "the  
 island was Dutch; every thing in it was Dutch; was  
 under the protection of the Dutch flag; and as Dutch  
 it should be treated."

The proceedings of the British commander now  
 fully evinced how well determined he was to keep his  
 word. The beginning of the storm fell upon the Jews,  
 of whom there were a considerable number on the  
 island, and who were very wealthy. Several of these  
 were driven from their habitations, with many circum-  
 stances of indignity, and banished they knew not whi-  
 ther. In this miserable and naked state they were  
 transported as outlaws, and landed on the island of St  
 Christopher's, where the Assembly, to their great ho-  
 nour, passed an act for their present relief and future  
 provision, until they should have time to recover from  
 their calamitous situation.

These exiles were soon followed by the Americans;  
 some of whom had been obliged to fly their native  
 country on account of the part they had taken in sup-  
 port of the cause of Britain. These unhappy people  
 were sent to St Christopher's, in much the same plight  
 as the Jews; and were received and entertained with  
 the same humanity and liberality by the people of the  
 island. The French merchants and traders shared a  
 similar fate in their turn; and last of all, the native  
 Dutch, or at least Amsterdammers, were banished also.

To complete the work, nothing now remained but  
 to dispose of the goods which had been seized. For  
 this purpose, public sales were advertised; purchasers

from every nation were promiscuously invited; assurances of protection given them without exception; and the island of St Eustatius became the greatest auction that perhaps was ever opened in the world. The goods were sold for a mere trifle in proportion to their value; and the French were said to have made the largest and most lucrative purchases. The greatest part of the goods were conveyed to French and Danish islands, and by the inhabitants of them disposed of to those very enemies, for supplying whom, in the ordinary way of commerce, this island had suffered so severely.

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1781.

Thus was the attention of the British commander directed to an object undoubtedly below his dignity, and, in the opinion of many, highly derogatory, not only to the honour, but the interest of the nation; as at this critical period de Grasse was sailing for the West Indies with that fleet and army which put an end to the British power in America, by the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the forces under his command. The conduct of the present naval commanders indeed now underwent as full a scrutiny by the public, and was treated with as little ceremony, as that of their predecessors had been.—Leaving, however, the West Indies for the present, we now proceed to a detail of the internal history of Britain and Ireland from the time of sending out the commissioners to America to the conclusion of the year 1781; a period which seemed to fill up the measure of misfortune and disgrace to this country.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Distracted state of Great Britain—Sir George Saville's bill in favour of the Roman Catholics—Disturbances on attempting to extend the law to Scotland—Popish Chapel burnt at Edinburgh—Riots in Glasgow—Protestant Association of London headed by Lord George Gordon—Mob having assembled in St George's Fields, beset both Houses of Parliament—Dreadful outrages and conflagrations—Trials and executions.*

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XXIV.

1781.  
Distracted  
State of  
Great Britain.

**F**ROM the whole tenor of this history, it must easily be perceived, that the unhappy contest with America had greatly divided the people of Britain, and that, however well the ministry might succeed in procuring a majority in the House of Commons, their success in this respect was by no means an indication that the majority of the nation at large were of their opinion. On the contrary, it is very probable, that, after the time of General Burgoyne's defeat the majority of the people were in reality not only against the further prosecution of the war, but began to entertain jealousies of those in power, as if, instead of considering the good of the nation, they in reality wanted to overthrow it entirely, in order to accomplish some purposes of their own, in which their private emolument and aggrandisement were by no means supposed to be overlooked. This general ill temper of the nation could not but be inflamed by that excessive and indecent asperity of language so frequently used in both Houses of Parliament; and unhappily the perpetual disappointment of the ministry in those schemes which they held out with the greatest certainty to the public, with the multitude of taxes they were obliged to impose, tended greatly to turn the balance to their disadvantage, and even to prejudice the public

against any person who happened innocently to act according to their directions. CH A P. XXIV.

1778.

From this general ill humour it is not difficult to see, that whatever scheme was heartily entered into by the ministry, whether of their own proposing or not, would meet with the most severe scrutiny, and, if possible, would be ascribed to a bad motive. This was the case with the bill brought in by Sir George Saville in favour of the Roman Catholics. However necessary the penal laws against the professors of that religion might formerly have been, yet, as the cause of persecution had ceased, they had long been beheld with an eye of compassion by every person of humanity. Sir G. Saville's bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Sir George Saville, therefore, May 14th 1778, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William III. entitled, "An act to prevent the further growth of Popery." He said, he did not meddle with the great body of the penal code, but chose that particular act, as giving more scope than any other to the base views of informers for reward. On this act had been founded most of the prosecutions for Popery; and he was informed, that several worthy Catholics lived in great terror, and some under actual contribution, in consequence of the powers given by it. The loyal and peaceable behaviour of that people, he said, ought to be an inducement to repeal the statute in question; especially considering that they lived under a government which, though not rigorous in enforcing these intolerable penalties, yet suffered them to remain on the statutes. A late loyal and excellent address\*, which they had presented to the Throne, was given by Sir George as an instance of the safe and good consequences which were likely to attend this liberal procedure of Parliament. In that address, he observed, they not only expressed their obedience to the government under which they lived, but their attachment to the constitution upon which the civil rights of this country had been established by the Revolution, and which placed the present family on the throne. He proposed, however, as a further security against any possible consequence, that a sufficient test might be formed, and that they should bind themselves to the support of the civil government by law established. May 14.

\* This address was presented to the King on the 1st of May 1778, and was signed by the Duke of Norfolk the Earls of Surry and Shrewsbury, the Lords Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Cliffield, and Linton, and by 163 Commons of rank and fortune.

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Mr Dunning seconded the motion with his usual ability and knowledge of the subject, in discussing of which he stated the following as great and grievous penalties:—The punishment of Popish priests or Jesuits who should be found to teach or officiate in the services of that church; which acts were felony in foreigners, and high treason in the natives of the kingdom—The forfeitures of Popish heirs who had received their education abroad, whose estates went to the next Protestant heir—The power given to the son, or other nearest relations, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father, or other relation's estate, during the life of the real proprietor—and the depriving Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase; a word which, in its legal meaning, carried a much greater latitude than was understood in its ordinary acceptation; for it applied to all property acquired by any other means than that of descent. The imprisonment of a Popish Priest for life, only for officiating in the services of his religion, was horrible in its nature, and must, to an Englishman, be held infinitely worse than death. And although, he observed, the mildness of government had hitherto softened the rigour of the law in the practice, it was to be remembered, that the Roman Catholic Priests constantly lay at the mercy of the basest and most abandoned of mankind—of common informers; for on the evidence of any of these wretches, the magisterial and judicial powers were of necessity obliged to enforce all the shameful penalties of the act. Others of these penalties held out the most powerful temptations for the commission of acts of depravity, at the very thought of which our nature recoils with horror. They seemed calculated to loosen all the bands of society; to dissolve all civil, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poison the sources of domestic felicity; and to annihilate every principle of honour. The encouragement given to children to lay their hands on the estates of their parents, and the restriction which debarb any man from the honest acquisition of property, need, said he, only to be mentioned, to excite the utmost indignation of the House.—The motion was received with universal approbation; and the bill was accordingly brought in and passed, without a single negative.

Discon-  
tentson at-  
tempting  
to extend  
the law to  
Scotland,

On the passing of this law some gentlemen of rank and consequence in Scotland, expressed their warm wishes in Parliament, that its benefits were extended to those of the Popish communion in their own country, and, as the season was then too far advanced, declared their



intention of bringing in a bill for that purpose in the ensuing session. During the recess, similar sentiments seemed to be adopted by others; and as that spirit of intolerance which had so peculiarly distinguished Scotland from other reformed countries, was supposed to have in a great measure subsided, it was scarcely imagined that the intended relief would have produced any considerable degree of opposition or even of murmur. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland happened to be sitting at the time the English act was in agitation, and rejected, by a majority of above 100 voices, a motion made for a remonstrance to Parliament against the passing of that bill.

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1778.

Moderation of the General Assembly,

This instance of moderation in the national church, could not but afford great encouragement to the Catholics in Scotland to hope, that they should be permitted to partake of the indulgence which had been granted to their brethren in England and Ireland. They accordingly prepared a petition to Parliament, and employed counsel to frame the outlines of a bill for that purpose. This pacific appearance, however, originating not with the body of the people, but those who imagined themselves their leaders, could not last after the occurrence of any circumstance capable of drawing the attention of the great body towards what was going forward; and it very soon appeared, that the dread and detestation of Popery was still no less violent in Scotland than it had ever been. A pamphlet published by a nonjuring clergyman, against the members and doctrines of Popery, first excited the flame. In this the former were represented as inimical to all states, and as the common enemies of mankind. Being printed at the expence of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, it was industriously circulated through all ranks and orders of men. Its effects first began to appear in some of the inferior Church courts, where the matter being taken up and agitated with great heat, angry resolutions were passed against the Papists; and these resolutions, containing a full determination to oppose every measure of relief which was or might be intended for them, being published in the newspapers, soon excited a pretty general ferment. The conduct of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, upon which the eyes of people were particularly turned, seemed, however, calculated to restrain that fury of zeal which was now generating, from spreading to any great extent. Notwithstanding the efforts of a violent party among themselves, the humane resolution issued by that assembly,

and Synod of Lothian

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Commit-  
tee for the  
Protestant  
interest.

went totally to disclaim their having any hand in opposing the mild intentions of government for giving relief to their fellow-subjects. Whatever effects might have been expected from this temperate conduct, were entirely frustrated or prevented by some obscure individuals in Edinburgh, who undertook the defence and protection of the national church and religion in place of their clergy, whom they charged with a scandalous and impious desertion of the cause of God and of religion. Availing themselves of their situation in the capital, they assumed the title of "The Committee for the Protestant Interest;" and not only passed on the public for people of rank and consequence, but for the acting delegates of a still greater body. Under this delusive appearance, they soon became so popular, that committees for corresponding with them were established throughout the country, and particularly in the western shires; and the public confidence and opinion increasing, they were considered as the fittest and most effective agents, for applying the contributions of the well-disposed to the immediate defence of religion. Thus they were enabled to publish great numbers of pamphlets, which were distributed gratis, and the contents of which operating powerfully on the general prejudice in the minds of the people, it was instantly believed, that ministry had entered into a design of overthrowing both the civil and religious liberties of the island. The miserable Catholics, dreading the consequence of that universal ferment which now manifested itself, withdrew their application for redress early in the year 1779; at the same time, hoping to take off the fury of the multitude, the letter written on the subject by the members employed for the purpose, was published in the newspapers.

Popish  
chapel  
burnt at E-  
dinburgh.

Matters, however, were now too far gone to be conciliated by any means whatever. No concessions could allay the fury of the populace when once let loose. For some time the Roman Catholics had been treated with threats and reproaches in the streets; and as the time of destined vengeance drew near, some intimation was given of the design by incendiary letters drooped in the streets. No public notice, however, was given; nor is it at all probable that the vigilance of the magistrates would have suffered the authors of such outrages to go unpunished, had they received the smallest information on which any legal proof could possibly have been founded.

Feb. 2.

The 2d of February 1779, was the day appointed for the execution of the grand project, A new dwell-

ling-house, in which the Popish bishop with several families of the same persuasion resided, was first attacked. One room or floor of this house had been designed and prepared as a place of worship, or private chapel, but had not yet been applied to any religious purpose. Though this building had been completely finished upwards of a year before, it was now represented as being erected only in consequence of the late indulgence given to the Catholics in England; and consequently, that it was a new and signal instance of the intolerably insolent spirit of Popery, which, on the first appearance of favour or relief, instantly overleaped all bounds of decency and discretion, venturing equally to insult the nation and the Protestant religion, by erecting in the metropolis such a pompous display of triumph, which was soon to be followed by an exhibition of all its superstitions and pageantries. In the letters above mentioned, therefore, this chapel was particularly taken notice of, and the people were desired to assemble, in order "to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there." It must, however, be observed, that the house, which had no appearance on the outside of being a place of worship, was inhabited by four families besides that of the bishop; and the chapel is represented as having been only 34 feet long. This house was violently assaulted and set on fire, the flames continuing to burn till next day at noon, and the inhabitants with difficulty escaping with their lives.

While the demolition of this building went on, a detachment was sent to the old chapel in Blackfriars Wynd, which, besides the place of worship, containing the families of trades-people with their property and effects; all of which, as if contaminated by the neighbourhood of the popish superstition, were meant to be consigned to the flames: but this, by the exertions of the more enlightened citizens and spectators, was happily prevented, otherwise the whole buildings in the neighbourhood would probably have been consumed. The mob, however, succeeded so far, as to demolish all the furniture, books, ornaments, and utensils devoted to sacred uses, which being brought out to the street, were put piecemeal into a large fire prepared for the purpose, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the surrounding multitude. Some violences were afterwards committed in other parts of the town, and the stock in trade, as well as the effects, of several Roman Catholics were destroyed. One or two ladies of fashion of that commu-

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Attempt  
on the  
houses of  
Dr Robert-  
son and Mr  
Crosbie.

Riots in  
Glasgow.

nion, took refuge in the Castle. The disorders continued for several days; and the mob becoming more daring by success, extended their views to the punishment or destruction of those gentlemen who had been supposed to favour or afford their countenance in any degree to the late bill in favour of the Catholics. Their first fury was directed against the houses of two very respectable gentlemen, the Reverend Dr Robertson, principal of the university, the most eminent historian of the age, and Mr Crosbie, a celebrated advocate. But on hearing of the intention of the rioters, the friends of both came to their assistance in such numbers, that the assailants thought proper to retire, without coming to extremities. By these attempts the magistracy were at last alarmed, and began seriously to think of taking some measures to prevent things from proceeding greater lengths. Some troops of dragoons were ordered into the town, who, with detachments from the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment of fencibles, formed chains across the streets and passes. Soon after a proclamation was published by the magistrates, in which the past riots were attributed to the apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of *well-meaning* people; but they were informed, that, "after this public assurance, the magistrates would take the most vigorous measures for repressing any tumultuous or riotous meetings of the populace which might afterwards arise; being satisfied, that any future attempts could only proceed from the wicked views of bad and designing men."

Similar disturbances took place about the same time in Glasgow; but as the objects of persecution in that city were generally composed of poor and laborious people, almost the whole vengeance was directed against a Mr Bagnall, an English gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who had introduced a considerable stone-ware manufactory into that city. The mob burned his houses, totally destroyed his manufactory and stock in trade, obliging himself and his family to fly into the fields for their lives. By the activity of the magistrates, however, these riots were not only very soon suppressed, but every remembrance of them, as far as possible, obliterated. Mr Bagnall was acquainted that he should be reimbursed to the full extent of his losses; and several of the principal inhabitants, among whom were some respectable clergymen, shewed the utmost tenderness and attention to his wife and family during their temporary distress.

Such extraordinary and unlooked-for proceedings in

the northern part of the united kingdoms did not pass unnoticed in Parliament; and a patriotic member of the House of Commons was on the point of bringing in a bill for the indemnification of the suffering Catholics in Scotland, had not the minister given him the strongest assurances that matters should be settled privately to their satisfaction. The conduct of the Edinburgh magistrates was severely censured, as well as the assumption of the chief magistrate, in venturing to answer, in his proclamation, for the future conduct or measures to be adopted or pursued by the British Legislature. Nor did the ministers, or parliament itself, escape a share of the general animadversion on the present occasion. Some members in opposition observed, that it was too cruel an insult, after the sacrifices we had already made to the false pretence of supporting the supremacy and dignity of the British Legislature in every part of the empire, to suffer a contemptible rabble not only to fly in the face of its present authority, but to prescribe limits beyond which it was not to pass in any of its future operations; thus, as they said, sowing the seeds of disorder and rebellion through every part of the British dominions.

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With regard to Scotland, the minister did not think proper at present to proceed to extremities. Indeed, the universal jealousy spread over this kingdom, of a design formed by Government to overthrow the Protestant religion, had loosened the affections of the commonalty in a manner perhaps scarce possible to have been done by any other method whatever. The very same spirit which had manifested itself on former occasions now appeared. The zealous party in Scotland, not content with driving Popery out of their own country, would needs pursue it into England, and, with the most officious kindness, undertook to free their brethren in that country from these religious terrors and apprehensions to which they themselves had hitherto been totally insensible. A number of publications were accordingly issued by them, directly or indirectly reflecting on the ministry as favouring the cause of Popery\*. About this time, also, they probably opened a

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\* Of these the most remarkable was a kind of protest published by the heritors of the town and parish of Carlisle, in the county of Lanark. In this, after laying it down as a fundamental maxim, That wherever popery is established Liberty is also abolished, they proceeded to arraign ministry in the following manner:—"We are certainly authorised to say, that, from the passing of the Quebec bill

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1779.  
Dreadful  
insurrec-  
tion at  
London.

correspondence with the Protestant Association in London, at that time less violent in its proceedings, and composed only of a few obscure individuals.

The general ferment which had for a long time subsisted in the nation now broke out in the most violent and extraordinary manner. The Protestant Associations in Scotland had long been headed by Lord George Gordon, whose activity and zeal for the interest, as was supposed, of religion, had raised him to a degree of estimation perhaps never experienced by any individual in Scotland; and this estimation was soon communicated to the brethren who espoused the cause of Protestantism in England, who were now invited by advertisement to unite themselves under the title of "the Protestant Association," of which Lord George Gordon was the President. The object was the repeal of the bill which had been passed in favour of the English Catholics. For this purpose, a meeting was held on Monday, May 29, 1780, in consequence of public advertisements, in order to consider of the mode of presenting a petition on the subject to the House of Commons.

May 29.

Protestant  
Associati-  
on headed  
by Lord  
George  
Gordon.

Lord George Gordon took the chair, and, after a long speech, in which he stated and lamented the rapid and alarming progress of Popery, he proceeded to observe, that the only way to stop it, was going in a firm, manly, and resolute manner to the House, and shewing their representatives that they were determined to preserve their religious liberties at the expence of their lives: That, for his part, he would run all hazards with the people; and, if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, when their conscience and country called them forth, they might get another president; for, he would tell them candidly, he was not a luke-

to the present hour, the encouraging and tolerating that bloody religion, seems to be the only consistent, and (we observe it with pain) the only successful measure which the present ministry have adopted. And perhaps this single principle may account for all that seeming weakness and fluctuation of counsels which have so remarkably characterized their administration." The charge was concluded by their declaring it as their opinion, "That if Great Britain, for manifold sins, is devoted to perdition, whether her ministers have acted from weakness or design, her avenging angel could not have hit upon more proper instruments to hasten her ruin."—From Parliament they disclaimed all hopes of redress, characterising the conduct of that assembly in the following terms:—"Not contented with repealing their own foolish acts, they have dared to repeal the wise-enacted penal statutes against Papists, the palladium of our established religion and civil liberties."—The original of this publication was ordered to be deposited in the archives of the Committee of Correspondence of Glasgow, and copies of it published in the Edinburgh and Glasgow news papers.

warm man himself, and, if they meant to spend their time in mock-debate and idle opposition, they might get another leader. This speech being received with the loudest applause, his Lordship then moved the following resolution, "That the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend in St. George's Fields, on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to accompany his Lordship to the House of Commons, on the delivery of the Protestant petition." This being carried unanimously, his Lordship then informed them, that if fewer than 20,000 of his fellow-citizens attended him on that day, he would not present their petition; and for the better observance of order, he moved that they should arrange themselves in four divisions; the Protestants of the city of London on the right; those of the city of Westminster on the left; the burgh of Southwark third; and the people of Scotland resident in London and its environs to form the last division: and that they might know their friends from their enemies, he added, that every real Protestant and friend of the petition should come with a blue cockade in his hat.

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These directions were most punctually complied with. On Friday, June 2d, at ten in the forenoon, several thousands of people assembled at the place appointed, arranging themselves in their proper ranks. About eleven o'clock, Lord George arrived, and gave orders how they were to proceed. About twelve, one party was ordered to go round by London Bridge, another by that of Blackfriars, and a third by that of Westminster. A monstrous roll of parchment, containing the names of those who had signed the petition, was carried before them. They proceeded on their route with great decency, and, about half an hour after two, they assembled before both houses of Parliament, on which occasion the whole body gave a loud shout. But however peaceable and well-disposed some of them might be, others soon began to exercise the most arbitrary power over both Lords and Commons, by obliging almost all the members to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out "No Popery!" Some were compelled to swear that they would vote for the repeal of the obnoxious statute, and others were insulted in the most violent and indecent manner. They took possession of all the avenues up to the very doors of both houses of Parliament, which they twice attempted to force open. As soon as they perceived the approach of the Archbishop of York's coach, they saluted him with hisses, groans, and hootings. The Lord President of the

Meeting in  
St George's  
Fields,  
June 2.

Before both  
Houses of  
Parliament

**C H A P. XXIV.** Council and Lord Bathurst were pushed violently about, and kicked on the legs. Lord Mansfield had the glasses of his carriage broken, the pannels beat in, and his life endangered. The Duke of Northumberland's pocket was picked of his watch. The Bishop of Lincoln's carriage-wheels were taken off, and his Lordship, with great difficulty, escaped with his life, being obliged to take shelter in the house of Mr Atkinson, an attorney, where he changed his clothes, and made his escape over the leads of the adjoining houses. The Lords Townsend and Hillsborough came together, and were greatly insulted, being sent into the House without their bags, and their hair hanging loose about their shoulders. Lord Stormont's coach was broken to pieces, and himself in the hands of the mob for near half an hour, until at last he was released by a gentleman who harangued the multitude, and persuaded them to desist. Lords Ashburnham and Boston were treated with the utmost indignity, particularly the latter, who was so long in their power, that it was proposed in the House, that the Peers should go in a body and endeavour to relieve him; but, whilst they were deliberating on this subject, his Lordship escaped without any material injury. Lords Willoughby, St John, Dudley, and many others, were personally ill treated; and Wellbore Ellis, Esq; was obliged to take refuge in the Guildhall of Westminster, whither he was pursued, the windows being broke open, the doors forced up, and Justice Addington with all the constables expelled. Mr Ellis escaped with the utmost difficulty.

Lord Geo.  
Gordon's  
behaviour  
in Parlia-  
ment.

During these violent proceedings, Lord George Gordon came several times to the top of the gallery stairs, whence he harangued the people, and informed them of the bad success their petition was likely to meet with, marking out such members as were opposing it, particularly Mr Burke, the member for Bristol. He told them, that at first it was proposed to take it into consideration on Tuesday, in a Committee of the House; but that he did not like delays, for by that time the Parliament might be prorogued. At another time he expressed himself in the following words: "Gentlemen, The alarm has gone abroad for many miles round the city. You have got a very good Prince, who, as soon as he shall hear the alarm has seized such a number of men, will no doubt send down private orders to his ministers to enforce the prayer of your petition."

Such extraordinary conduct in a member of the House did not pass without animadversion. General



Conway and several other members expostulated with him very warmly on the mischiefs which might arise from his behaviour; and Colonel Gordon, a near relation of his Lordship, accosted him in the following manner:—"My Lord George! Do you intend to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man of them that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his, but into your body." His Lordship, however, was not to be intimidated by any threats of this kind; and, having no doubt determined beforehand in what manner he was to act, continued to harrangue the mob as before. While making his second speech, General Grant, another relation of his Lordship, came behind, and endeavoured to draw him back into the House, crying out, "For God's sake, Lord George! do not lead these poor people into any danger!" All this, however, availed nothing. His Lordship went on with his speech. "You see," said he, "in this effort to persuade me from my duty, before your eyes, an instance of the difficulties I have to encounter with from such wise men of this world as my honourable friend behind my back." Attempts were made by Alderman Sawbridge and others to clear the lobby, but to no purpose. At last, a Justice arriving with a party of horse and foot-guards, was received with groans and hisses; but on his assuring the people that he would order the soldiers to disperse, provided they would give their word of honour to separate, he gained their good-will so far, that, after giving the magistrate three cheers, upwards of 600 of them left the place.

During all this time, the House were taken up in debating about the mob; after which, having obtained some degree of order, Lord George introduced his business, by informing them, that he had before him a petition signed by near 120,000 of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, praying "a repeal of the act passed the last session in favour of the Roman Catholics," and moved to have the said petition brought up. This motion being seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull, leave was given accordingly; but when his Lordship farther insisted that it should be immediately taken into consideration, the motion was rejected by 192 to 6; soon after which the House adjourned, and, the mob having dispersed from the avenues of both houses, the guards were ordered home.

But though order and tranquillity were re-established in this part of the town, it was by no means so in other

C H A P. places. The mob paraded off in different divisions from  
XXIV. Palace Yard, and some of them went to the Romish  
1780. chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and to  
Great out- that in Warwick Street, Golden Square, both of which  
rages com- they in a great measure demolished. The military were  
mitted by sent for, but could not arrive in time to prevent the  
the mob. mischief. However, 13 of the rioters were taken up,  
Houses, and the mob dispersed for the night. The riots subsided  
chapels, on Saturday; but on Sunday afternoon they became  
and prisons much more alarming. Large bodies of people assem-  
set on fire. bled, and attacked the chapels and dwelling-houses of  
the Catholics in and about Moorfields. The houses  
were stripped of their furniture, and the chapels not  
only of their religious utensils and ornaments, but the  
altars, pews, benches, and pulpits were torn up, and  
made fuel for bonfires, leaving nothing but the bare  
walls.

On Monday the rioters paraded with the relics of  
the havock they had made in Moorfields, as far as Lord  
George Gordon's house in Welbeck Street, and after-  
wards burned them in the adjacent fields. Another  
party went to Virginia Lane, Wapping; and a third  
to Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield, where they de-  
stroyed the Catholic chapels, and committed several  
other outrages. Some people who had appeared as evi-  
dences on the examination of those who had been com-  
mitted, had each of them their houses and shops strip-  
ped, and the contents of them committed to the flames.  
The house of Sir George Saville in Leicester Fields,  
shared the same fate, on account of his having brought  
the obnoxious bill into Parliament. This day also, be-  
ing the anniversary of the king's birth-day, a procla-  
mation was issued, offering a reward of 500*l.* to those who  
would discover the persons concerned in setting fire to  
the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. Those who had  
been formerly apprehended were now re-examined, and  
some were discharged; but others were committed to  
Newgate, and escorted there by a party of the guards,  
who were pelted by the mob on their return.

On Tuesday all the military in town were ordered  
to attend on duty at the tower, both Houses of Parlia-  
ment, St James's, and St George's fields, &c. during  
the whole day; notwithstanding which Lord Sandwich  
was wounded in attempting to go down to the Parlia-  
ment-house, his carriage demolished, and he himself  
rescued by the military with the utmost difficulty. To-  
wards evening they became still more outrageous. One

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party went to the house of Justice Hyde, near Leicester Fields, which they destroyed; another paraded through Long-Acre down Holborn, till they came to Newgate, and publicly declared they would go and release the confined rioters. On their arrival at the prison-doors they demanded the immediate release of their comrades, which being refused, some began to break the windows; some battered the doors and entrances into the cells with pick-axes and sledge hammers; others brought ladders to climb up the walls; while several collected fire-brands, and whatever combustibles they could find, which they flung into the keeper's house. His household furniture was thrown out at the windows in large quantities, and afterwards piled up against the doors, and set on fire. The flames instantly communicated to the house, from thence to the chapel, and from the chapel to the prison. As soon as the flames had destroyed Mr. Akerman's house, which was part of Newgate, and were communicated to the wards and cells, all the prisoners, to the amount of 300, among whom were four under sentence of death, were set at liberty.

A party of the mob then proceeded to Red Lion Street, to destroy the houses of the Catholics there; another to the house of Justice Cox in Great Queen Street, which was likewise destroyed; a third broke open the doors of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, and turned out all the prisoners; a fourth destroyed the furniture, effects, and writings of Sir John Fielding; and a fifth set fire to and consumed the elegant house of Lord Mansfield in Bloomsbury Square. They began with breaking down the doors and windows, flinging the superb furniture from every quarter into the street, where large fires were made to destroy it. They then proceeded to his Lordship's law library, &c. destroying some thousand volumes, with many capital manuscripts, mortgages, and other deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel, with some very capital pictures, were also burned; after which, having forced their way into his Lordship's wine cellars, they plentifully bestowed the liquor on the populace. A party of the guards being now arrived, a magistrate read the riot-act, after which he was obliged to give orders for a detachment to fire. About fourteen of the soldiers obeyed; several men and women were killed, and others wounded. They were ordered to fire again, which they did without effect. The mob, however, were by no means intimi-

CH A P. dated. They began to pull down the house, and burn  
 XXIV. the floors, planks, spars, &c. destroying the whole out-  
 1780. houses and stables, so that in a short time the whole  
 was consumed. Lord and Lady Mansfield made their  
 escape through a back-door, a few minutes before the  
 mob broke in.

The transactions of Wednesday were still worse  
 than those of the preceding day. Notice was sent by  
 the mob to the prisons of King's Bench and Fleet, at  
 what time they would come and burn them. The same  
 kind of humanity was exercised towards a Mr Lang-  
 dale, distiller in Holborn, whose works they destroyed  
 to the value, as was supposed, of more than 100,000*l*.  
 Several others of the Romish persuasion had also their  
 property destroyed. In the afternoon all the shops were  
 shut, and bits of blue silk, by way of flags, were hung  
 at most houses, with the words "No Popery !" chalked  
 on the doors and window-shutters, in order to depre-  
 cate the fury of the insurgents, from which no person  
 thought himself secure.

When the day drew near a close, a most dreadful  
 spectacle presented itself. The flames were seen as-  
 cending at once from the prisons of the King's Bench  
 and Fleet; from New Bridewell; the toll-gates on  
 Blackfriar's Bridge; from houses in every quarter of  
 the town, particularly from the middle and bottom of  
 Holborn, where the conflagration was very terrible.  
 The houses set on fire at this place belonged to Mr  
 Langdale above mentioned, and contained immense  
 quantities of spirituous liquors. Six-and-thirty fires, all  
 blazing at one time, and in different quarters of the  
 city, were to be seen from one spot. Men, women,  
 and children, were running up and down the streets  
 throughout the whole night with such effects as they  
 wished to preserve; at the same time, that the reports  
 of soldiers muskets, firing in platoons, in different pla-  
 ces, gave the idea of a city sacked and plundered, and  
 undergoing all the other calamities of war.

Throughout the day, two attempts were made on  
 the Bank; but the rioters were so much intimidated by  
 the strength with which they found it guarded, that  
 their attacks were but feebly conducted, and they were  
 repulsed at the first fire from the military. They next  
 made an attempt to break into the Pay Office, but were  
 in like manner repulsed; many being killed and wound-  
 ed in the different skirmishes throughout the course of  
 this day. The arms of the military, however, were  
 less fatal to them than their own drunkenness. Num-

bers died with inebriation, especially at the distilleries of Mr Langdale, from the vessels of which the liquors ran down the street, and were taken up in pailfuls, and held to their mouths by the deluded multitude, many of whom killed themselves by drinking unrectified spirits, and were burnt or buried in the ruins. The regulars and militia now poured in so fast, in consequence of the expresses dispatched for that purpose, that the citizens began on Thursday to recover from their consternation ; but the alarm was still so great, and they were so much affected by the depredations they had beheld, that the shops were universally shut from Tyburn to White Chapel, and no business of any kind transacted, except at the Bank. Great numbers were this day taken up by the military ; and some were apprehended in the attempt to set fire to those places of Newgate prison which had escaped the conflagration of yesterday. Four hundred and fifty-eight are said to have been killed, wounded, and taken prisoners in the various actions during these disturbances.—The number who perished by the effects of intoxication, could not be ascertained, but was judged to be very considerable. The arrangements made this day by the military, and the severe execution already done by them, were sufficient to prevent and intimidate the mob from any farther outrages ; and the whole was closed by the commitment of Lord George Gordon to the Tower. Here his Lordship remained till February 5, 1781, when he was tried at the bar of the Court of King's Bench for high treason, but acquitted. Many of the rioters and incendiaries, however, being found guilty, received sentence of death ; and nineteen of them were executed in London and Middlesex, and six in Southwark.

Numbers  
killed and  
wounded.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Parliament—Mr Fox's motion on the state of Admiral Keppel's fleet—Discontents and resignations—Motion for the removal of Lord Sandwich—Debates on the American war—State of the Navy—Greenwich Hospital—Spanish Manifesto—Militia—Habeas Corpus act—Prorogation and meeting again of Parliament—Debates on the Address—Duel between Mr Fox and Mr Adam—Debates on the national expenditure—Influence of the Crown—Extraordinaries of the Army—Mr Burke's æconomical plan—Recess.*

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**D**URING this disastrous period of an unfortunate war abroad, and civil combustions at home, the rage of political frenzy was scarce short of what we have just now related of the religious fanatics. In particular, the ferments raised by the trials of the two Admirals, Keppel and Palliser, were fully as vehement, and no less difficult to be allayed. From what passed on these trials, the attention of Parliament was naturally directed to the affairs of the navy, and these accordingly became almost the sole objects of discussion. The members of Opposition directed their attacks chiefly against Lord Sandwich, the first Lord of the Admiralty, whom they considered as being the most responsible of any of the King's servants. In consequence of an address for the purpose, several extracts of letters, relative to the equipment of the Brest fleet, having been laid before that House, Mr Fox moved the following resolution: "That it appears to this House, that the sending Admiral Keppel, in the month of June last, to a station off the coast of France, with a squadron of 20 ships of the

Mr Fox's  
motion re-  
specting  
Admiral  
Keppel's  
fleet,  
March 3.

line, and four frigates, at a time when a French fleet, consisting, as there is great reason to believe, of 32 ships of the line, and certainly of 27, with a great number of frigates, was at Brest, and ready to put to sea, was a measure greatly hazardous to the safety of the kingdom, without any prospect of an adequate advantage." CHAP. XXV. 1779.

On the other hand it was denied, that the fact on which the motion had been originally founded, had been at all established. The assertion, that there were 27 ships of the line in Brest water, was so far from having been proved, that it had not even been rendered probable.

To these arguments Opposition replied with great vehemence.—The question was carried in favour of Ministry by a majority only of 34, the numbers being 204 to 170.

Mr Fox, not disheartened by this defeat, brought forward the business, a short time after, under a new form. After scrutinizing the conduct of ministers in the most severe manner, respecting the management of the navy, he came to the following conclusions: Either that ministers acted under the dominion of the grossest and dullest ignorance; or that they were actuated by sinister, corrupt, and dangerous motives; and that they were therefore, in either case, unworthy of public trust or confidence. He then made a motion to the following purpose, "That it appears to this House, that the state of the navy, on the breaking out of the war with France, was very unequal to what this House and the nation had been led to expect, as well from the declarations of his Majesty's ministers, as from the great sums of money granted, and debts incurred for that service; and inadequate to the exigencies of the various services for which it was the duty of ministers to have provided at so important a crisis."

In their defence against this attack, the ministers proceeded on the same ground as before. They denied the facts as to what they said were the main grounds of the motion, namely the superiority attributed to the French in the channel, and in America; and, with regard to the Mediterranean, they said, it was utterly impossible to provide a suitable defence to every part of possessions so widely extended as those of Great Britain. Some must be neglected; and, in such circumstances, ministers must exercise their discretion and judgment, in attending particularly to the security of such places as were either most important, or most exposed to danger. No fair or direct inference, they said, could be drawn

C H A P. from the comparative state of the money granted for naval service, in the two intervals previous to the breaking out of the last and present war; nor from that of the fleets in the years 1756 and 1778. The ships were larger now than formerly; we had then a number of small sixty's and sixty-four's, none of which were now retained; that rate having not only been improved in point of strength and size, but its place having in a great measure been supplied by a number of new seventy-four's, built on so large a construction, as to be nearly equal to the old second rates. So that, upon the whole, fairly comparing the exertions at both periods, it was not doubted that our force in 1778 would be found substantially equal to what it had been in 1756.

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1779.  
Lord  
Howe and  
Admiral  
Keppel enter  
into the  
dispute.

This contradiction to matters of fact, called up the two great naval commanders, Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel, the former of whom had seconded Mr Fox's motion. His Lordship observed, that he was under some difficulty of speaking, on account of his having himself a matter to settle with ministers, and which he pledged himself to the House to bring forward. But being, on the other hand, apprehensive, that his total silence might be considered as an approbation of measures which he totally condemned, and which, if obstinately persisted in, must terminate in the ruin of the country, he held it incumbent on him, as a public duty, to prevent such an opinion from prevailing. He then declared, that he thought the means put into the hands of administration, were such as enabled them to have a much more respectable navy on foot; that, above all things, the Mediterranean ought to have been provided for; he being thoroughly convinced, that it would be impossible for this country at any time to preserve its naval superiority while that service was neglected; but much more, when, as in the present instance, it was apparently abandoned. The motives that induced him to retire from the American service were, that he had been deceived into his command; that he had been deceived while he retained it; that, tired and disgusted, he had required permission to resign, and would have returned to England as soon as this permission was obtained, could he have thought of quitting the British fleet when in danger from a superior enemy in the American seas; that, on the whole, his situation had been such, as to compel him to resign; and that a thorough recollection of what he had felt and suffered, induced him to decline any risque of ever returning into



a situation which might terminate in a manner equally CHAP.  
disagreeable. XXV.

The ministry were no less severely condemned by the other naval commander, Admiral Keppel. That gentleman reprobated, with the utmost severity, the daring assertion, as he called it, which had been made by a noble Lord of the Admiralty Board, that, at the time when he returned from his cruise, under the apprehension of a superior force, the enemy's fleet consisted only of seventeen ships of the line. Among other particulars, he observed, that in the years 1765 and 1766, when he sat at the Admiralty Board, a scheme was proposed and adopted, for keeping at all times 80 ships of the line of battle, with a proportionable number of frigates, ready for actual service. He likewise stated, that supposing that determination had immediately after been totally abandoned, and even the whole navy to have been annihilated, at the time that Lord Sandwich was promoted to the head of the Admiralty Board, it appeared evidently from the papers before them, that the grants of Parliament for the naval service within his administration, had been so ample, and unusually great, that a fleet of 80 ships of the line might have been constructed from the keel, and in actual service at sea, without any additional expence to the nation, by the close of the year 1777; whereas, by that Lord's own account of the matter, we had not at that period, in all stations, at home and abroad, above 50 ships of war in condition for actual service; nay, he believed, that it would be found there were not then 40 fit for service. The deficiency in number, however, was not at that time the most alarming circumstance. He was well warranted in affirming, that the ships in general were not in good condition, nor fit to bear long and difficult services. The number of frigates was also very deficient; and, on this account, the naval service had suffered very considerably. He concluded by declaring the Admiralty Board to be totally negligent, uninformed, and in every way unequal to the management of the naval affairs of this country.

To all these charges the ministry replied only by direct and flat contradictions to what the admirals had urged as undoubted facts, either with regard to the present or past state of the navy; and so violent were the assertions on both sides, that a gentleman, well known to be a friend to administration, urged against Opposition, that the house could not in conscience come to a vote of censure on account of the doubt with regard to

**CH A P.** facts arising from the extreme contrariety of the asser-  
**XXV.** tions of both parties ; for which reason he would move  
 the previous question, in order to leave the matter open  
 for future inquiry. The minister, however, confiding  
 in his strength, would not content himself with an in-  
 direct victory of this kind. He affirmed, that the facts  
 and charges which had been stated, were of such an  
 important nature, that they admitted of no medium ;  
 they must be either fully established or overthrown ;  
 and as they were not yet supported by a single title of  
 proof, the most regular and parliamentary mode of pro-  
 ceeding was, for the present, to meet them with a di-  
 rect negative ; which, he said, would not by any means  
 prevent an inquiry, when evidence should occur. The  
 motion was rejected by 246 to 174.

Violent  
 discon-  
 tents and  
 resignati-  
 ons among  
 the naval  
 officers.

These victories of the ministry did not at all conciliate the differences which had unhappily taken place. On the contrary, the discontents among the naval commanders were now augmented to the most alarming degree. Lord Howe had already declared his intention of serving no more. Admiral Keppel next declared, that after what he had already experienced and suffered at their hands, he could never think of resuming the naval command under such an administration ; that besides its being inconsistent with his honour, and exceedingly hazardous with respect to his professional character, he was fully convinced in his own mind, that he could not, under their influence or conduct, promote in any essential degree the interests of his country, which was the only motive that could induce him to undertake its service. About this time also, Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsay, and some other distinguished officers, quitted the service ; and it was believed, that no fewer than 20 of the best captains, were determined to resign their commissions at once.—These alarming appearances kept up the spirit of Opposition in its full vigour. Mr. Fox, undaunted by his bad success, determined to bring forward in a new motion the aggregate of these facts, real or presumed, which had been contained in all the others he had already made. Having accordingly given the usual notice, he, on the 19th of April 1779, moved for an address to the throne for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich, from his Majesty's presence, councils, and service, on account of misconduct in his office as First Commissioner of the Admiralty, and of the general ill state of the navy, at the most critical seasons, under his administration. In order to avoid those objections

Mr Fox  
 moves for  
 the remo-  
 val of Lord  
 Sandwich.  
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to such a motion which he knew must naturally occur from the repeated rejection of his motions of censure formerly, he argued, that although the House did not concur in a vote of censure on any one of the separate grounds of accusation, they might very well concur in it on the whole taken collectively.

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It was evident, however, that notwithstanding this laboured distinction between the separate and collected matter of the accusation, the merits of the question had already been discussed and decided. The only new matter of debate, therefore, afforded at present, arose from the great injury the nation had sustained from the loss of so many of her best naval officers, and the danger to which she was exposed from the alarming and general discontents now prevailing in the navy. These being in the most direct manner charged upon Lord Sandwich, it was said, that though the rest of his conduct had been even laudable, these alone afforded sufficient reason to justify a removal, nay to render it absolutely necessary.

The ministers now found themselves under a necessity of retorting. Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel were accused of setting that example, and spreading that discontent in the navy which was so pernicious to their country, and so dangerous to the state. For though the ministers themselves thought proper to preserve some terms with the two noble brothers, as well as with Admiral Keppel, their adherents were so far from imitating their example, that their speeches carried in them every species of studied and premeditated attack. It was now advanced, that when military commanders grew too great for the state, and set such an high value upon their services as to expect new and extraordinary conditions as the price on which they would exert themselves in defence of their country, it was not only proper that such propositions should be treated with the contempt they deserved, but, however great the professional merit of the proposers might be, it was fitting, that in all future times they should continue to experience the just indignation of their country by her constantly despising those services which were withheld in the hour of her distress. It was not, they said, to be doubted, that there were at all times to be found a sufficient number of brave and experienced officers, who only wanted to be brought forward in order to serve their country essentially, and whose zeal and loyalty would abundantly compensate for the absence of those who had grown weary of her service.

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This violent charge and reproach produced a no less violent return of censure from the parties aggrieved. The two admirals, in justification of their conduct, asserted, that a visible, settled, concerted, and scarcely disavowed scheme, was now in full execution, for driving from the service by sea and land, not only all popular commanders and officers, but even every gentleman of independent spirit and principles, who ventured to think for themselves in political matters, and honestly to discharge the duty which they owed to their country as senators. To this object was sacrificed, along with the means of our immediate defence and security, every possible prospect of success in that ruinous civil and foreign war in which the nation had been involved by their means. And, in order to palliate or disguise in some measure this atrocious scheme, their first measure was to ruin the reputation and character, and thereby to deprive of their popularity and reputation, those officers whom they had secretly devoted to destruction.—Finding themselves, however disappointed in the attack they had made on the life and honour of Admiral Keppel, after all the pains they had taken to inveigle him, they had fallen upon a scheme of trying him a-new, under pretence of trying his accuser Sir Hugh Palliser, against whom no charge had been laid, nor was there any prosecutor to support it if there had. To what other purpose, said they, could the institution of that trial, so circumstanced, and attended with such extraordinary manœuvres, be attributed, unless to an hope that some side-wind from thence might affect the reputation of the Admiral, and that the acquittal of their favourite might, under their sanction, be perverted to the purpose of raising some suspicions, injurious to the honour of those able and distinguished officers who had composed the court-martial? The question for the removal of Lord Sandwich was rejected by a great majority, the numbers being 221 to 118.

But though the ministry had thus once more obtained the victory, it was not in their power to prevent Lord and General Howe from pressing, in the strongest terms, for an inquiry into the conduct of the war, as far as they themselves were concerned. They urged, that if their conduct in the American war had been blameworthy, their guilt ought to be laid before the public; or, if not, they trusted that they might thereby obtain justice in the vindication of their honour and character. On the other hand, the ministers insisted, that the in-

Inquiry in-  
to the con-  
duct of the  
American  
war strong-  
ly pressed  
by Lord  
and Gene-  
ral Howe.

quiry was totally needless. Government had laid no charge against the noble brothers; on the contrary, several parts of their conduct had met with its approbation. As to the abuse or charges made by the publishers of newspapers and pamphlets, they could not be considered as of sufficient moment to authorise the bringing on of an inquiry, which must necessarily break in so prodigiously on the time and attention of the House, and that in a session when there was already so much business of importance before them, and so much more probably to come. Though they did not approve of the inquiry, however, they agreed to the motions that were made for laying the American papers before the House; which were accordingly brought forward in great abundance, and continued on the table during a great part of the session.

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By dint of continual perseverance and importunity, the two noble brothers had so far prevailed, that the House, on the 29th of April 1779, had formed itself into a committee of inquiry into the American war; yet, although a previous motion had been made to the Upper House, for the attendance of Earl Cornwallis as an evidence, and the greatest attention had been paid for two hours to a speech made by Sir William Howe, in which he gave an account of his conduct, the minister (Lord North), who had all along expressed the utmost disapprobation of the inquiry, was still determined to quash it. His arguments in general amounted to this, that there had never been any necessity, nor even occasion, for the inquiry; but that, if there had, it was now entirely superseded by the very able defence and explanation of his conduct which the honourable general had given, as well as by the papers which lay before them. Almost every part of the correspondence indicated the utmost satisfaction of government, and its warmest approbation of the services of the two noble commanders. They further contended, that, if matters had been different, and that an accusation had been really laid against the officers, that House was totally incompetent to enter into any inquiry concerning military matters, or to decide upon them. Military charges and accusations ought to be tried in their own proper courts, and no where else. It was, however, insinuated, that the true design of the inquiry was to try to injure the ministry, by an indirect method of representing their conduct in an odious light; but if that was the real object, the accuser was desired to stand forth, to avow

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his charge, and compel them to answer. With a view to set forth the incompetency of the House to judge of military matters, the question was put to Sir William Howe, Upon what points he meant to interrogate the noble lord? To which the general replied, "That it was as to the general conduct of the American war; to military points generally and particularly." On which the minister, eagerly seizing these words, and mixing them with some of his own, proposed the following amendment, which he knew would produce the rejection of the question altogether, namely, "That Lord Cornwallis be called in, and examined relative to general and particular military points touching the general conduct of the American war."

Opposition now perceiving that the question was unavoidably lost, provided this amendment should be carried, poured forth their utmost vengeance on the minister who had proposed it; and the honourable mover of the question protested, that during thirty years he had sat in Parliament, he never saw such a gross attempt to violate the inherent and constitutional privileges of that House, whether with respect to the breach of order, or, to what was of infinitely greater consequence, the denying that House to have a right of inquisitorial jurisdiction over every department of the state, every establishment, whether civil, military, or criminal.

Notwithstanding this furious attack, the minister's amendment was carried by 189 to 155; after which the debate on the main question being renewed, it was rejected by 180 to 158.

A gentleman in Opposition then moved, "That Lord Cornwallis be called in, and examined respecting the subject matter of the papers referred to the said Committee;" which was negatived without a division. The committee itself, however, was not dissolved; for though a motion for that purpose had been proposed early in the debate, it was afterwards withdrawn at the minister's desire. The Committee, therefore, was still open to receive any testimony tending to the elucidation of the papers before them, except what related to military matters, and the whole subject of these papers was military.

But though the inquiry seemed thus to be laid asleep forever, Opposition were determined not to let matters pass in this manner. The business was resumed on the

The inquiry brought forward, May 3.

3d of May, by a recital of the transactions of the Committee, and a renewal of the motion for the examination of Lord Cornwallis, and the complaint of contempt of order supported with the utmost vigour. The minister acknowledged that he was not fully prepared to speak on the subject. The question of competency, he said, he did not push, as he had done in the Committee; but with respect to the impropriety of examining witnesses on military matters, he seemed to exert his whole strength. He observed, that as the evidence must be only *ex parte*, it could never, by any rule of reason, or consistency with the regular proceedings of judicature, be deemed sufficiently conclusive either for acquittal or censure.—Many arguments were used on both sides.—At last, the inquiry, which had a few days before been rejected by a majority, seemed now to be almost unanimously agreed to. The Committee was accordingly revived on the 6th of May, and the proceedings commenced with the examination of Lord Cornwallis. After his lordship, the following officers were called in the order we mention them, viz. Major General Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Major Montresor, chief engineer, and Sir George Osborne, a member of the House. From the united testimony of these respectable witnesses, the following facts were established:—That the force sent to America was insufficient to make a conquest of the country, owing in a great measure to the hostility of its inhabitants, who were generally averse to the government of Great Britain; and likewise to the nature of the country itself, which was the most difficult and impracticable with regard to military operations that could possibly be conceived:—That these circumstances of country and people rendered the services of reconnoitring, obtaining intelligence, and acquiring any previous knowledge that might be depended on, of the roads and the nature of the ground which they were to traverse, along with the essential object of procuring provisions and forage, exceedingly difficult, and in some respects impracticable:—That this latter circumstance rendered it impossible for the army to carry on its operations at any distance from the fleet; at least, without the command of both sides of some navigable river; and that its operations were much retarded, and frequently endangered, from being obliged to march in a single column, owing to the circumstances of roads and country already mentioned.

It was likewise established, as an undoubted fact, that the rebel lines and redoubts at Brooklyn, in Long Is-

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Proceed-  
ings of the  
Commit-  
tee,  
May 6.

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land, on the 27th of August 1776, were in such a state of strength and defence, that an attempt to force them without proper approaches, and without artillery, scaling ladders, axes, and other warlike utensils, would have been little less than an act of desperate rashness:—That Lord Cornwallis halting at Brunswick, when in pursuit of the enemy the same year, was necessary, as well with respect to the fatigue and provision of the troops, as to their number, and the posts which it was first necessary to occupy, in order to preserve their communication; and that his passing the Delaware, and advancing to Philadelphia, when he afterwards arrived at Trenton, was utterly impracticable, from the total want of boats and all other necessaries for that purpose:—That the going by sea to Philadelphia, was the most eligible, if not the only method which could have been adopted for the reduction of Pennsylvania, and that the Chesapeake was a more eligible passage than the Delaware:—That from the strength of the Highlands, and other circumstances, the attempt of going up the North River to Albany, while Washington was at hand with a strong army to profit of all the advantages which it must afford, would have been difficult, dangerous, and found impracticable in the event; and that the drawing of General Washington and his army near 300 miles from the North River, to the defence of Pennsylvania, was the most effectual diversion that could have been made in favour of the northern army; and at the same time held out the greatest probability, that the desire of protecting Philadelphia would have induced him to hazard a general action; an event so long and earnestly desired as the only method of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion, and which could not be obtained by any other method.

Thus were the charges which had been made against the conduct of the American commanders repelled. General Howe had already endeavoured, in his narrative, as well as in several speeches he had made on the subject, to establish it as an undeniable fact, and demonstrably to prove from the correspondence before them, that he had constantly stated to the American minister the great difficulty and impracticable nature of the war, with the utter impossibility of subjugating the continent with the force under his command: That he had accordingly accompanied the plans for the operations of the campaign of 1777, with a request in one instance of being reinforced by 20,000, and in another by 15,000 men; strongly arguing, that nothing less could effectually an-



over the purpose of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. On the other hand, the minister did not seem to credit that the difficulties were so great as they had been represented, nor that such an additional force was required; placing a vain confidence in the loyalty of the Pennsylvanians; for which reason he had promised only about half the number stated in the second requisition, and of those not a fifth part was sent; nor did they arrive until the season was so far advanced, that they could be of no service as to the original purposes of the campaign. He likewise stated, and supported from the same authority, that so far from any concert or co-operation being intended or proposed between him and the northern army, that that expedition had never even been casually mentioned in any of the discussions relative to the plans of the future campaign which had passed between him and the minister: That the first knowledge he had of that design, and which induced him to write a letter to Sir Guy Carleton upon the subject, was merely from public report; and that the first intimation he received from the minister that the smallest support would be expected from him in favour of the Canada expedition, was by a letter received in the middle of August 1777 in the Chesapeake, when his measures were already taken in consequence of the plan he had settled with the American minister, and when it would have been too late to recede; and even that letter expressed no more than a confident hope that he should return soon enough from the southward to concur in the further operations of the northern army.

As nothing could be more galling to those in office than a narrative of this kind, which went directly to charge them with the miscarriage of the war, if not directly to criminate them, it was thought proper to deny the truth of it altogether, by setting up counter evidence, which, besides the direct contradiction given by it to the narrative just mentioned, would, by the length of time taken to examine the witnesses, weary out the patience of Parliament, so that the purpose of ministry would be as effectually gained as if the inquiry had been originally prevented. In support of this, it was advanced, that *ex parte* evidence had been received, relative to matters of fact and of opinion, to military manœuvres, to the propriety of plans, and the execution of them; and that this had been principally directed to the laying of charges against the ministers, particularly the noble lord at the head of the American department. It was therefore necessary, fair, and equitable, that witnesses

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C H A P. should be examined on the other side, and evidence received in regard to these points, and to set aside those charges. The minister, however, declared, that his main object in calling witnesses, was to rescue the brave, loyal, and meritorious sufferers in America, from the unjust general imputation or censure thrown upon them by one part of the present evidence, which declared the Americans to be *almost unanimous* in their resistance against the claims of Britain.

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The Opposition, however, condemned, as extremely unfair and irregular, a proposal to bring forward at the tail of an inquiry, without any previous notice, and when the evidence brought forward by the honourable general, in his own vindication, was nearly closed, new witnesses to stir up matter, and perhaps charges of which he knew nothing, and for which he could, of consequence, have made no provision in the examination of his own. It was likewise mentioned with indignation, that there was a design to bring up American refugees, pensioners, and custom-house officers, to impeach and set aside the evidence of military men of high rank, and of great professional knowledge. There was an absurdity also in allowing them to prove, that the Americans, *i. e. themselves*, whose places, pensions, and existence, depended on their attachment, were exceedingly well-disposed to acknowledge and support the rights and claims of Great Britain over the colonies. The power of ministry, however, prevailed over these and all other remonstrances; and, under the idea of promoting a full and general inquiry into public matters, orders were issued for the attendance of General Robertson, General Jones, Colonel Dixon, and Major Stanton; as also, for that of John Maxwell, Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, John Paterson, Theodore Morris, and Enoch Story, Esquires; but as the bringing forward of this counter-evidence, necessarily occasioned a chasm of some days in the business of the committee, the opportunity was eagerly seized by General Burgoyne to claim the opportunity of vindicating his honour, by demanding an inquiry into his own conduct.

General  
Burgoyne  
demands  
an inquiry  
into his  
conduct.

Ever since his misfortune at Saratoga, indeed, that General had been very importunate for an inquiry into the causes of it, as well as into every thing relative to the Canada expedition. His situation, by the convention of Saratoga, had however been laid down as an insufferable obstacle against the gratification of his desire in that respect. His continual importunity had given offence, as well as his joining with Opposition in

condemning the conduct of ministry. For this reason it had been determined to remove him out of the way ; and, on pretence that his presence was necessary for the good of the troops formerly under his command in America, orders had been sent him to go thither. Several letters had passed between him and the ministers on that occasion, which correspondence had terminated in a positive refusal on the part of the general to leave this country. His interest, however, was not sufficient to counteract in any degree the power of those who opposed him ; so that it is probable he would have remained in the most humiliating circumstances of disgrace, had it not been that the northern expedition was so connected in its consequences with the operations of the grand army, and they so materially affected the general fortune of the war, that they could not be separated in the course of the inquiry concerning General Howe's conduct. The opportunity, therefore, was eagerly seized of bringing forward this business, for which the interval betwixt the examination of Lord Howe's evidence, and that brought forward by the ministry, afforded sufficient leisure.

By this time, indeed, all ranks and degrees of men were awakened into some consideration of the unhappy circumstances under which this general was compelled to submit to such intolerable reproach, without a possibility of vindicating his honour or character in any manner of way. All parties, therefore, at length seemed to commiserate him, when he threw himself on the justice, and claimed the protection of the House, conjuring them that they would give him an opportunity, by entering upon his defence, to redeem his honour and character from that obloquy and censure so publicly and licentiously bestowed on both. The argument against military inquiries, he said, could not apply to him, even if it had any weight in itself, as he had frequently applied for a court martial, and had as often been refused it. This appeared so reasonable, that it was agreed to by both sides of the House ; and even the American minister allowed that such strong accusations had been recently laid against him, that he was entitled in justice to be heard in his own defence. The 20th of May being fixed upon for entering upon the inquiry, the following officers attended, *viz.* Sir Guy May 20. Carleton ; Earl of Balcarras ; Captain Money, acting quarter-master general ; Earl of Harrington ; Major Forbes ; Captain Bloomfield of the artillery ; and Lieutenant-colonel Kingston, adjutant-general ; all of whom,

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**CH A P.** Governor Carleton excepted, were present during the whole campaign, and eminently partook of the distresses and disasters attending the northern expedition.

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Exceed-  
ingly fa-  
vourable  
testimony  
regarding  
General  
Burgoyne.

From the unanimous testimony of these very respectable witnesses, it appeared, that General Burgoyne possessed the confidence and affection of his army, in so extraordinary a degree, that no loss or misfortune could shake the one, nor distress or affliction weaken the other. It established an instance, as far as it could be conclusive, and a close cross-examination was not able to weaken it, perhaps unequalled in military history, that during so long and continued a scene of unceasing fatigue, hardship, danger, and distress, finally ending in general ruin and captivity, not a single voice was heard through the whole army, to upbraid, censure, or blame the general; and that, even at last, when every effort was found ineffectual, they were still willing to perish along with him. By this evidence, also, every censure, or charge which had been laid against the conduct of the commander, was totally overthrown or removed; leaving however, the question open, whether the general's orders for proceeding to Albany were peremptory or conditional; and leaving likewise some doubts behind, both with respect to the design and mode of conducting the expedition, under the command of Colonel Baume, to Bennington. However, it particularly detected two falsehoods, which, till that time, had been in full credit; the one, that General Philips, with a specified part of the army, had offered, at the time of the convention, to force his way through the enemy from Saratoga back to Ticonderago; the other, that the late gallant General Frazer had expressed the utmost disapprobation of the measure of passing Hudson's River. The witnesses, on the contrary, were of opinion, that nothing less than the passing of that river, and advancing to fight the enemy, could have satisfied the army, or preserved the general's character with it; and that even after all the misfortunes that had happened, it was still universally considered as a matter of absolute necessity, and to have done otherwise would have been accounted an unpardonable failure. Their testimony went likewise to the total subversion of that injurious report, relative to the supposed natural deficiency of spirit which was attributed to the Americans. On the contrary, they declared freely, that the Americans shewed a resolution, perseverance, and even obstinacy in action, which rendered them by

no means unworthy of a contest with the brave troops who opposed them. Written evidence was also produced and supported, that the number of the rebel army, at the time of the surrender, amounted to 19,000 men, of which 13 or 14,000 were men actually carrying muskets.

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The examination of General Burgoyne's witnesses was followed by the counter-evidence of the American minister, against that brought by Lord and Sir William Howe. None of the witnesses already mentioned, however, were examined, excepting General Robertson and Mr Galloway. The latter had been an American lawyer, and a member of the first Congress; and was one of those that had come over to Sir William Howe at the time when the rebel cause seemed nearly ruined. The general had immediately afforded him a liberal provision, in expectation of his future services, in which, however, he had been disappointed. He had besides, advanced him to several lucrative as well as honourable civil employments.

Evidence  
of General  
Robertson  
and Mr  
Galloway  
against  
Lord and  
Sir Wil-  
liam  
Howe.

The tendency of this new evidence was, in general, to overthrow that which had been already given in favour of the two commanders. The general (Robertson) rated the number of those who were well affected to the British Government at three-fourths, and Mr Galloway at four-fifths of the whole inhabitants of the continent. They said, That if a proper use had been made of this favourable disposition of the multitude, it might have been directed to such essential purposes as would have brought the war to a speedy and happy conclusion—That the force sent out from this country was fully sufficient to have reduced the rebellious colonies—That the country of America was not in its nature particularly strong, much less impracticable, with respect to military operations—That the face of a country being covered with wood afforded no impediment to the march of an army in as many columns as they pleased—That the British troops possessed a greater superiority over the Americans in their own favourite mode of bush-fighting, and the detached service in woods, than in any other whatever—That armies might carry 19 days provisions on their backs, and consequently need not be deterred from the undertaking of expeditions, through the want of those means which have been hitherto reckoned indispensable, &c.

On this, Opposition from time to time remarked, that the greater part of those gentlemen's testimony was

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founded upon hearsay intelligence, and violent assertions of facts, not only unsupported by collateral evidence, but what scarce any body could believe. It was also remarked, that the only officer produced had been very little, if at all, out of our garrisons, since the commencement of the war, and was therefore little qualified, either to give satisfactory information relative to the disposition of the people with whom he was so little conversant, or to give a critical opinion of military measures which he had never seen. With regard to Mr Galloway, they said, that it was very singular, that though bred a lawyer, and habituated to business, he could scarcely be brought to recollect any part of his own conduct in the most trying, signal, and possibly dangerous situation of his life, and the most conspicuous sphere of action to which he had ever been exalted, namely when he was a member of the Congress; and yet, that the same person, a total stranger to the profession, and only flying for refuge to the British army, should all at once acquire an accuracy in military details, and the complicated business of a camp, which could scarcely be expected from a quarter-master-general; and as suddenly become possessed, along with the minutiae, of that nice discernment and critical judgment in the general conduct and all the great operations of war, which the oldest and most experienced commanders do not often pretend to.

The examination of these two witnesses was spun out, by the intervention of other business, to the end of June. In the mean time, as it was uncertain what farther evidence might be called on that side, and the session being so near a conclusion, Sir William Howe requested, that, in consequence of the attack made upon his character in the evidence of Mr Galloway, a day might be appointed on which he should bring witnesses to controvert and disprove those parts of it by which he was most materially affected. This the ministers refused, and even the Opposition seemed tired of the business. The committee, however, was resumed on the 29th of June; but an advantage being taken of some little delay, (said to be not above a quarter of an hour) in Sir William Howe's not being immediately present for the cross-examination of the witness, the Committee was suddenly dissolved, without coming to a single resolution upon any part of the business.

While the House of Commons were thus taken up with matters tending either directly or indirectly to criminate the ministry, the House of Lords found em-

ployment in something of a similar nature. The First Lord of the Admiralty had become exceedingly obnoxious to the members in opposition. A motion had been made, as we have already seen, in the House of Commons, for the removal of this nobleman from the councils of his Majesty; and about the same time an inquiry was instituted in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bristol, into the state of the navy, and the conduct of the Admiralty. This inquiry went, in the first place, to the crimination, and, in the second, to the removal of Lord Sandwich from his employments. He was supported by the Dukes of Bolton and Richmond, and some others of the most distinguished lords in opposition. In this inquiry the earl displayed consummate industry, patience, and constancy, though sinking at the time under the pressure of excruciating diseases; so that his conduct, whether right or wrong, could not be attributed, even by the most malevolent critics, to any other motive than that of pure love to his country. By reason of his bad state of health, however, the commencement of the business was delayed from the 19th of February to the 23d of April. The great point principally laboured by the Earl of Bristol was, that about seven millions more money had been allotted for the support and increase of our navy during the last seven years than in any former period; and that during that time the decrease and decline of the navy had been in an inverse ratio to the excess of expenditure. Lord Sandwich, however, defended himself with great ability; but though he asserted his innocence in the strongest terms, and expressed the utmost pleasure in the consciousness of it, he denied that he was personally responsible for the state of the navy, except in a conjunction with the other cabinet counsellors. With respect to other matters, he flatly contradicted every thing which had been said, either with regard to the past or present state of our naval affairs, as well as with regard to those of France and Spain. Some of the particular charges were contradicted in the same manner. It had been urged by the noble earl, that the want of stores in Admiral Keppel's fleet, while under sailing orders for the immediate protection of the country, was intolerable; some of the ships having been entirely stripped of their cordage and running rigging in order to supply Admiral Byron's squadron; and that when Admiral Keppel had returned to port after the action of the 27th of July, they were detained several days for want of masts and other essential articles. The minister, how-

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Earl of  
Bristol's  
motion  
respecting  
the state of  
the navy.  
April 23.

**CH A P.** ever, insisted, that the abundance of stores in the docks  
**XXV.** and yards was so great, that the warehouses and re-  
 ~~~~~  
**1779.** ceptacles were not capable of containing them; the  
 stock of hemp particularly being so great, that the ad-  
 miralty found a necessity of obliging the artificers to  
 take some of it off their hands.

**Th** two  
**Royal**  
**Brothers**  
**voted with**  
**the mi-**  
**nority.**

The motion was rejected by a majority of two to one, the numbers being 78 to 39. In this debate the two royal dukes (Gloucester and Cumberland) voted with the minority. A protest was entered by 25 lords; but the Earl of Bristol not thinking it sufficiently strong, entered a separate one of some length, which was almost the last act of his public exertion; his death soon after putting an end to all opposition to ministry on his part.

**Debate on**  
**the ma-**  
**nagement**  
**of Green-**  
**wich Hos-**  
**pital,**  
**June 7.**

The work of reformation was now left to the Duke of Richmond, whose first step was to institute an inquiry, not indeed of such national importance, but the event of which, however, shewed how firmly determined the ministry were against the reformation of any abuse, whether great or small. This new inquiry respected the conduct and management of Greenwich Hospital; which tending virtually to the censure of the Admiralty Board, was accordingly taken up by Lord Sandwich as an accusation against himself. This motion was rejected by 67 to 25; at which the minority Lords were so enraged, that they instantly quitted the House.

**On the**  
**Spanish**  
**manifesto,**  
**June 17.**

These debates on domestic affairs were interrupted by the announcement of the Spanish manifesto declaring war against Britain, and which was introduced by a royal message, June 17, 1779. As this event had been repeatedly foretold by the minority, and all along treated with contempt by the ministry, it is not to be supposed but the verification of these predictions would now bring out the most severe reproaches on those who had despised them.—They were indeed reminded with great severity of their obstinacy, blindness, and absurdity; of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger, with the triumph which they had constantly expressed at the folly and ignorance of the members in Opposition for entertaining such ideas. Spain, said the ministry, could have no interest in joining our enemies; They had colonies of their own, and would never set such a bad example to them, as to assist our rebellious colonists. Nay, those ministers, whose conduct daily shewed them to be incapable of managing their own affairs with any degree of propriety, had the matchless effrontery of setting themselves



up as statesmen and politicians for the House of Bourbon, and of knowing the interests of France and Spain better than they did themselves.

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All these heavy charges, however, were disregarded. A resolution was taken to oppose this new enemy as well as the others, and at the same time never to submit to the idea of American independence.—As the national danger was now undeniably very great, it was proposed by the minister to increase the militia to double its number at that time. To this the Opposition consented; though at the same time they considered it as probably impracticable, or even dangerous, from the apprehensions they had of its being violently opposed by the people at large; and that, along with several other causes of objection, it would in its effect go to the annihilation of the regular or standing army, in cutting off its usual and only means of supply from the recruiting service. But though they concurred thus far, they declared themselves totally dissatisfied with the wisdom or propriety of the measure. The raising of new regiments appeared to them to be vastly preferable; and they severely reprov'd ministers for the continuance of that wretched system of policy which had hitherto led them to reject with indifference, and even contempt, the liberal and patriotic offers made by several of the peers in Opposition for raising regiments at their private expence for the defence of their country. But that narrow predilection in favour of men of a certain description, and particularly of the northern part of the island, was still predominant, and would continue while there was any thing either to bestow or to lose; and thus the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Derby, and others of the oldest English nobility, and supporters of the throne and constitution, met with indifference or insult in their generous offers for the service and preservation of their country, in this season of the greatest peril which she had ever known. It was observed, with great acrimony, on this occasion, that all these generous and disinterested offers came from such as ministry had stigmatized with the title of leaders or partizans of faction, and who were constantly represented as enemies to government; whilst not one of those who had grown rich in her spoils, or great in her ruin, whether ministers, contractors, court favourites, or *King's friends*, had offered to raise a single man, or to expend a shilling in its defence.

On augmenting the number of militia.

As the minister did not profess any attachment to this particular mode of defence, a great variety of amend-

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On the sus-  
pension of  
the Habeas  
Corpus act,  
June 23.

ments were proposed. The only one of any consequence, however, which was carried through, was for the raising of volunteer companies, which were to be attached to the militia regiments of the county or district to which they belonged; and for this purpose the lord-lieutenants of counties were empowered to grant commissions to officers, as high as the rank of lieutenant colonel, in proportion to the number of men they were able to procure. But when the Committee had sat on this subject till mid-night, the House was no sooner resumed, than they were surprised by the introduction of a new bill of another nature. This was to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed on board the navy, which several descriptions of men and apprentices belonging to the sea, or in some degree to maritime affairs, had hitherto enjoyed; and also for suspending, for a time, the right of suing out a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, for such breaches of these exemptions as had already taken place from the 17th of that month, or as might still take place before the final ratification of the bill.

Such an extraordinary proposal, militating so strongly against the liberty and security of the subject, was severely censured. The manner of bringing it forward indeed, at so late an hour, and in a very thin House, became a subject of complaint even more than the proposal itself, which was likewise condemned upon many accounts, but particularly for being a breach of faith between the legislature and the people, which should ever be held most sacred. All this, however, was justified on the plea of necessity; and the time of bringing it in was said to be chosen on purpose for the greater secrecy and dispatch, and to prevent the effect of the bill from being defeated by the knowledge of its design, which the public prints would have spread through the whole nation. The measure itself was justified upon the ground already mentioned, and the proposer remarked, that he could not avoid being astonished at the horror which was now expressed with respect to compulsion, when they were but newly risen from a Committee wherein they had been for ten hours engaged in framing a compulsive law whereby arms would be forced into the hands of 30,000 men whether they would or not.

Militia bill  
rendered  
insignifi-  
cant in the  
House of  
Lords.  
June 30.

The militia bill, like all others proposed by ministry, was easily carried through the House of Commons, but in that of the Lords, not only met with a vigorous opposition from the adverse party, but was even much more coolly received by the ministers themselves than

might have been expected. Neither were the lords<sup>C H A P. XXV.</sup> lieutenants of counties in general at all satisfied with the bill. In this state of things, the question being at length put, Whether the clause empowering his Majesty to order the militia to be augmented to double its present number, should stand as part of the bill?—it was carried in the negative by 39 to 22. In this debate it was remarkable, that the Lord President of the Council, and both Secretaries of State, voted against the compulsory principle of the bill.

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Lord North could not conceal his chagrin, nor his dissatisfaction with the conduct of his colleagues. A new question, however, now arose, which produced a considerable debate: for the militia being considered by several members as a money-bill, they insisted, that no amendment of the Lords could be admitted, without a surrender of their most valuable and peculiar privilege; for which reason the bill ought now to be totally rejected. But the minister considering that it was absolutely incumbent on him to do something which might at least have the appearance of regarding the public defence and security, determined in the present instance to overlook the point of privilege. After many ingenious arguments on both sides, therefore, the bill was carried by a majority of 63 to 45.

A few days after, the prorogation of Parliament took place, and the speech from the throne expressed the utmost satisfaction at the many great and important services which had been rendered to his Majesty, and the nation in general, during such a long session.

Prorogation,  
July 3.

The short recess of Parliament from July 3d to November 25, 1779, was not productive of any piece of intelligence which might give encouragement to the minister to boast of his success. On the contrary, nothing but misfortune, or equivocal successes, had presented themselves. The nation, weary of the length, and doubtful of the event of the war, had become more and more discontented. Opposition had increased in number; and, conscious of the augmentation of their strength, and trusting to the favour and opinion of the majority of the people, assumed a higher and more determined tone than they had hitherto done. In the debates on the address, therefore, they did not now confine themselves to the examination and censure of recent measures, the conduct of the war, or even the behaviour of the present ministers. They took a comprehensive view of the general administration of affairs during the greater part of the present reign. Hence

Parliament meets  
Nov. 25.

Debates on  
the address to his  
Majesty.

CHAP. they insisted, that the cause of all our misfortunes, and  
 XXV. of that extraordinary change which had taken place  
 1779. during the last seventeen years, proceeded from a new, insidious, and most pernicious system of government; a system calculated to destroy all principle, and to dissolve all the bands of opinion which unite mankind; a system which had unhappily, in a great measure, already subverted the national honour and character, and which tended ultimately to the dissolution of the constitution, if not of the government of this country. This fatal system, they said, had spread its baleful influence through the army, navy, senate, and every department of state and people, and as its grand and leading principles of action were corruption, the destruction of character, with that wretched and abominable principle of policy to govern the kingdom by creating divisions in it, it was not to be wondered at, that its progress should be every where marked by the confusion, ruin, and discord it produced; by the disgrace which it brought upon our arms, the contempt, ridicule, or execration of mankind which it had drawn upon our public counsels, and by that bitter spirit of contention and animosity which it had generated even in parliament.

In descending to particulars, the powers of language were in a manner exhausted, while they set forth the deplorable situation of the nation, owing to the system already mentioned. Those officers, they said, civil and military, who were by their merit placed highest in the confidence and esteem of their country, were the marked objects of it. Our great naval and military commanders were driven from the service; and, in the moment of difficulty and danger, the state was robbed of its best and surest defence. Thus our fleets and armies were either languishing in discontent, or torn to pieces by dissention, and the spirit of enterprise sunk under the benumbing conviction, that whatever honour or advantage might be achieved by brave and hardy service abroad, must inevitably perish under the fatal and malignant influence which prevailed at home.

The general terror which the parade of the combined fleets of France and Spain in the Channel had this year occasioned throughout the southern coasts of England, added fresh fuel to the flame. It was reserved, said the opponents of ministry, for the present inauspicious and disgraceful æra, for the administration of those men who had severed the one part of the em-

pire from the other, and who had plunged the nation C H A P.  
in all the guilt and calamity of a cruel and unextinguishable civil war, to brand this country with the indelible disgrace of the preceding summer, to exhibit the unthought of and unheard of spectacle, of a British fleet flying, in sight of their own coast, before that of Bourbon. XXV.  
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Besides this grand article of accusation, the neglect of the island of Jersey afforded another, very little inferior. Through the want, they said, of two or three frigates of that small marine force which would have been then sufficient to repel the desultory attempts to be expected from St Maloes, Admiral Arbuthnot, in his laudible zeal for the relief or recovery of the island, was obliged to abandon his convoy, and to defer his voyage to New York. By that means a fleet of 300 merchantmen and transports were exposed to the danger of the sea and the enemy in the open road of Torbay; the trade was detained a full month at home, and suffered at least an equal delay on the voyage, to the immense loss and expence of the merchant; and the reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton, which, to answer any effectual purpose, should have been landed at New York before the time of their departure from England, did not reach the continent of America until the end of August, when the season for action was nearly over, and the troops had suffered so much from the unusual length of their confinement on ship-board, that they were incapable of any immediate service. Thus, said they, were all the views and hopes of the campaign frustrated in the outset, and thus, year after year, was the blood and treasure of the nation consumed, and its strength exhausted in that fatal contest, while the unequalled misconduct prevailing at home, rendered all the exertions of valour and ability fruitless, and insured the ill success which followed.

The vast military force kept on foot within the kingdom afforded also an ample topic of discussion. This, including the militia, and the various corps of new-raised troops, amounted, as they said, to more than 100,000 men. Yet this vast force, which, under former wise and happy administrations, would have conveyed terror and destruction to our enemies, and endangered even their most remote possessions, was kept supine and idle at home. Nothing could more clearly point out the atrocious designs, or the consummate folly of administration. It was either intended, that this prodigious force should act against the people, or it was altogether unnecessary.

C H A P. XXV. If we had no fleet, it was more than sufficient for internal defence ; if we had a fleet, and could trust to it, we had no occasion for so vast a land force.

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Nor was the internal government of our military force less animadverted upon. The new-adopted system of modelling the army was condemned in the strongest terms, and represented as being not more unjust and scandalous in the practice, than ruinous in the effect. The honourable scars of long and veteran service, were obliged to give way to the superior interest, or perhaps the secret and corrupt influence which supported the raw subaltern, who could lay no claim either to merit or service. Nor did the evil, however shameful or glaring, stop there. Men totally unacquainted with military affairs were called from the civil walks of life, and suddenly appointed to the command of regiments. Desks, counting-houses, and public offices were stripped of their useful and peaceable occupiers, to supply a new race of commanders and generals for our armies. Thus were officers of long service and tried honour reduced to the hard necessity of either abandoning a profession to which they had dedicated their small fortunes, their hopes, and lives ; or of submitting to the military disgrace of obeying those whom they had been accustomed to command, and of receiving orders from men whose incapacity and ignorance rendered them objects of their sovereign contempt.—Thus, they said, continual murmurings, jealousies, and discontents were generated among those who were fighting the battles of their country.

The same conduct, they said, which had prevailed in Europe, was to be traced in every part of the world. The enemy had, at one sweep, carried away every thing that was English, through the whole extent of the African coasts. The dominion of the sea was no less effectually, though less disgracefully, lost in the West Indies, than in the narrow seas and the Channel. Our West India islands had been more properly delivered up to the enemy, than subdued by him. It made no difference in the nature of things, whether our possessions were surrendered or sold by a public or private treaty with France, or whether they were left so naked and defenceless, that the enemy should have nothing more to do than to send garrisons to take possession of them. This, they insisted, was the case, with respect to the islands we had lost ; and those that remained, they said, were not in a much better situation. Jamaica, now the most valuable of our colonies, and the principal

source of our remaining trade and wealth, was most shamefully abandoned, and was at that time in the most imminent danger of being totally lost, if not already so.

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This extraordinary torrent of accusation and invective, was finished by a declaration, that the omissions and defects which produced all these calamities, went so much beyond any thing which could be allowed for impotence and imperfection of mind, that they seemed under a necessity of deriving their origin from direct treachery. Final ruin, or a total change of system and of men, was now the alternative to which we were reduced. All the means of national preservation which now remained, and the sentiments of every intelligent and independent man in England, were now expressed in the short sentence, "New counsels and new counselors!" This was the universal language without doors, and of those within when they went out.

The speech itself was, as usual, criticised in the severest manner. It held forth, that though the designs and attempts of our enemies to invade this island had been hitherto frustrated, they still menaced us with great armaments and preparations; but it was trusted we were well prepared to meet every attack, and to repel every insult. His Majesty knew the character of his brave people. The menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, had no other effect on their minds, than to animate their courage, and to call forth that national spirit which had so often defeated the projects of ambition and injustice; and which had enabled the British fleets and armies to uphold and preserve the liberties of Europe from the restless and encroaching power of the House of Bourbon. Nothing, however, was said, that, in the smallest degree, alluded to the transactions either of the East or West Indies. The inevitable great and heavy expences of the ensuing year were regretted; but the usual reliance was placed on the wisdom and public spirit of the Commons for the supplies. The conduct of the militia was mentioned with approbation. Thanks were returned to all ranks of loyal subjects who had stood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, influence, and personal service, had given confidence, as well as strength, to the national defence. The speech concluded, by declaring a firm resolution to prosecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to listen to equitable terms of accommodation.

In return to this speech, addresses from both Houses

C H A P. had been proposed, as usual, approving of every part  
XXV. of it. In that from the House of Lords, particularly,  
1779. the  *blessings*  enjoyed under the present government had  
been acknowledged, which produced no little censure  
and severe comment. It was asked, Whether that re-  
cognition of public happiness was founded in truth ?  
Whether it was not rather an insult to Parliament, when  
applied to the ministers. Was there a lord present who  
could lay his hand on his heart, and congratulate his  
Majesty on the blessings enjoyed under his government ?  
A majority might indeed grant a vote, but they would  
go no farther ; they could neither close the eyes, nor  
warp the opinions of mankind. For themselves, how-  
ever, the Opposition maintained, that no motive what-  
ever should induce them to the vain and scandalous at-  
tempt of giving a sanction to so gross a species of delu-  
sion and imposition, by the acknowledgment of blessings  
which did not exist, and a recognition of the merits of  
government, in direct contradiction to experience and  
fact.

Amendments were proposed in the House of Com-  
mons by Lord John Cavendish, and in the House of  
Lords by the Marquis of Rockingham. Both were to  
the following purpose, *viz.* “ To beseech his Majesty  
to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power,  
opulence, reputation abroad, and concord at home,  
which distinguished the opening of his Majesty’s reign,  
and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in  
the history of this nation—That he would now consider  
the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted,  
and even dismembered state of the whole, after all the  
grants of successive Parliaments, liberal to profusion,  
and trusting to the very utmost of rational confidence—  
That his Majesty would naturally expect to receive the  
honest opinion of a faithful and affectionate Parliament,  
who would betray his Majesty, and those whom they  
represented, if they did not distinctly state to his Ma-  
jesty, that, if any thing could prevent the consumma-  
tion of public ruin, it only could be new counsels and  
counsellors, without farther loss of time, and a real  
change, from a sincere conviction of past errors ; not a  
mere palliation, which must prove fruitless.”

With regard to this amendment, the minister observ-  
ed, that the language was strictly parliamentary. It was  
the duty, as well as the right of Parliament, to cause  
evil ministers to be removed ; but justice first required  
a proof of their delinquency. To remove the servants  
of the Crown, without assigning any cause for it, or attri-



bute to them, without any evidence or trial, those errors or crimes which, on trial, would not be found imputable to them, would be equally unjust and unprecedented. Though he admitted, therefore, to the fullest extent, the right of that House to address the Throne for a removal of ministers, yet as nothing was specifically charged against them in the amendment he must certainly oppose it on principle; and it certainly could not be imagined, that he would agree to the indirect censure implied against himself in the requisition of new counsels and counsellors. The charge of treachery was denied, as were all the others, either directly or indirectly.

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On this occasion, ministry were also very ably defended by the Attorney-General, Mr Wedderburn, by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr Dundas, by Mr Jenkinson, and Mr Adams. On the side of Opposition, Mr Thomas Townsend, Mr Burke, Lord John Cavendish, Mr Temple Luttrell, and Mr Charles Fox, greatly distinguished themselves in this debate, particularly the last named gentleman.—The address, however, was at last carried by 233 to 134. It was, notwithstanding, easy to see, that the debates on this occasion carried a quite different face from what they had ever done before; and that though the ministry carried their point at this time, it would not be long before they would be entirely defeated. In fact, they were now universally complained of, and the nation at large had in a great measure withdrawn their confidence.

The public odium against them was increased by a duel betwixt Mr Adam, a friend to administration, and the celebrated Mr Fox, on account of some words which had been used by the latter\* in the course of a

Duel betwixt Mr Fox and Mr Adam.

\* The ministry, in their defence against the violent attacks of Opposition, frequently made use of the following argument :—That bad as the ministers were, it was not certain that the nation would be at all bettered by taking their opponents. On this Mr Fox animadverted with so much asperity, that Mr Adam, who had made use of it in the same debate, called upon him for an explanation. Some days afterwards, Mr Fox received a letter from that gentleman, requiring that he would allow the following paragraph to be put in the newspapers :—“ We have authority to assure the public, that, in a conversation that passed between Mr Fox and Mr Adam, in consequence of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday last, Mr Fox declared, that however much his speech may have been misrepresented, he did not mean to throw any personal reflection on Mr Adam.”—Mr Fox refused to countenance the putting any thing into the newspapers concerning a speech which required no explanation. “ Mr Adam, who heard the speech,” he said, “ must be sensible, that it conveyed no personal reflection against him, unless he found himself in the predicament animadverted upon. The account of the speech in the news-

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Ministry  
severely  
attacked  
on the  
footing of  
national  
expendi-  
ture.  
Dec. 7.

debate in the House of Commons. In this affair, Mr Fox was wounded ; but this rencontre being generally attributed rather to party spirit, than to the ostensible motives, the care which the public took in the life of that gentleman, contributed not a little to inflame that animosity against the ministry, which was already almost universal.

The affairs of Ireland, the situation of which shall be afterwards considered, afforded abundance of room for further censure and declamation against ministry, whose power manifestly declined every day. They were now attacked on the footing of œconomy, and the vast expence incurred by the continuance of the war. On the 7th of December 1779, this business was opened by the Duke of Richmond, who stated the vast combination of force at that time existing against this country, which was left without friend or ally. After this he entered into a detail of our vast military establishments by sea and land, which, including the late augmentation of above 20,000 men to the land force, would not fall much short of 300,000 men ; a number which no power in Europe could support for any length of time at the enormous expence it created to this country, without at all taking into the account, that the commercial losses of this country including those of all kinds that proceeded from a defection of her colonies, far exceeded in extent what could well have fallen to the lot of any other state. By a number of calculations he shewed, that if the war only continued to the end of the ensuing year, and was only to consume the provision which Parliament was making for its support, it would by that time complete an addition from its beginning of 63 millions to the former national debt ; the whole being then little short of 200 millions ; and that as the minister had given, on an average, about 6 per cent. for the new debt, the standing interest of the whole

paper was incorrect, and unauthorised by him. With respect to that, he had, of consequence, nothing to say ; however, if Mr Adam chose either to publish the speech, or the conversation which passed in relation to it, he was perfectly at liberty." This not proving satisfactory, a challenge took place ; and the parties having met, according to appointment, Mr Adam desired his antagonist to fire ; but he replying, that he had no quarrel with him, and desiring him to fire, the former discharged his pistol, and wounded Mr Fox. The latter then fired without effect, and the seconds interfered. Mr Fox then asked if Mr Adam was satisfied : but he insisting on an apology, which Mr Fox refused, Mr Adam then fired his other pistol without effect, and his antagonist discharged his into the air ; then saying, " As the affair was now ended, he had no difficulty in declaring that he meant no more affront to him than to any of the other gentlemen present."

would not amount to less than eight millions sterling annually ; a tribute, to the payment of which all the landed interest of England was to be for ever mortgaged. Such, he said, would be the state of the British finances, at the close of the following year ; and it would only be better by 12 millions, were peace to be concluded at that instant. Under such vast burdens, the necessity of the most exact and rigid œconomy was self-evident. Our formidable neighbour and enemy had set us the example.—Whilst the English were bent down to the earth under the pressure of their burdens, and the industry of our minister was exhausted in multiplying new and vexatious, though at the same time unproductive objects of taxation, France, through the ability of her minister, by a judicious reform in the collection and expenditure of her finances, had not yet laid a single tax on her people for the support of the war. In this country, however, instead of any attempt towards the practice, or even any pretence or profession of œconomy, our expenditure was so shamefully lavish, as to surpass all recorded example of waste and mismanagement in the weakest and most corrupt governments. Our affairs were now arrived at such a point of distress and danger as reduced us to the necessity of applying to œconomy, that never-failing source of wealth ; and as this must begin somewhere, he could not help thinking that the Sovereign ought to set the example. In that case, he had no doubt that it would have a great and general effect ; nor did he imagine that in such a case there was one of their lordships who would not cheerfully relinquish any part of their public emoluments that his Majesty might please to recommend. The example once begun, would spread through the different departments of state ; it would influence the conduct and excite the public spirit of individuals ; it would likewise, in its effect, tend to restrain that boundless profusion in the public expenditure which prevailed at that time. He did not wish to abridge the crown of any thing necessary to support its splendour and dignity ; nor could his intended motion produce any such effect. Parliament had but a few years before augmented the civil list to the enormous amount of 900,000*l.* annually. His motion could go no farther, in its utmost presumed extent, than to bring it again to that state in which both the dignity and splendour of the crown had been well supported in much happier times and more prosperous seasons. He accordingly moved for an address, to the following purpose :—“ To beseech Majesty to reflect on

**C**HA P. the manifold distresses and difficulties in which this country was involved, and too deeply felt to stand in need of any enumeration—To represent, that, amidst the many and various matters that require reformation, and must undergo correction, before this country can rise superior to its powerful enemies, the waste of public treasure required instant remedy ; that profusion is not vigour ; and that it was become indispensably necessary to adopt that true œconomy which, by reforming all useless expences, creates confidence in government, gives energy to its exertions, and provides the means of their continuance—Humbly to submit to his Majesty, that a considerable reduction of the civil list would be an example well worthy of his Majesty's paternal affection for his people, and his own dignity ; nor could it fail of diffusing its influence through every department of the state, and to add true lustre to the crown from the grateful feelings of a distressed people—To assure his Majesty also, that this House will readily concur in promoting so desirable a purpose ; and that every one of its members would cheerfully submit to such a reduction of emolument in any office he might hold, as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think proper to make.”—This motion was supported by the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Shelburne, and Earl of Derby ; and opposed by the Lord Chancellor (Bathurst), Lord Onslow, and Lord Stormont.

Though the lords in administration agreed as to the representation of public affairs which he had laid down as the foundation of his motion, they opposed the principal object of it on various grounds. They granted, indeed, that there had been some want of œconomy during the present administration, but they considered this rather as incident to a state of war, than as being peculiar to the ministers. The mode of œconomy, however, proposed by the motion was totally inadequate to its object, *viz.* of extricating us in any degree from our present difficulties ; at the same time that it conveyed a censure upon the former proceedings of that House in the augmentation of the civil list. It was inconsistent and unjust to attempt to withdraw from his Majesty, what had been so unanimously granted by Parliament. It would be paltry and mean to tax the salaries of the servants of the crown ; and the revenue so raised would be trifling, and totally incompetent to any of the great purposes of national expenditure. If we were reduced to such an extremity of distress as rendered the measure indispensably necessary,

let such contributions from the public benevolence or spirit be general and optional; let us follow the example of Holland in such a situation, where money was received without any specification in the public treasury, and without being in any degree accountable for.

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But whatever system of œconomy might be adopted, it was by no means proper that it should begin with the Crown, the splendour of which should at all events be supported, as including in it the honour and dignity of the empire. Œconomy should be directed to the various departments connected with public expenditure, so that their respective business might be prudently and honestly conducted. They were all interested in supporting the honour and dignity of the Crown; and they must all partake in the satisfaction of that increase of the royal family, which increased the necessity of an ample revenue. Should we be really obliged to deprive his Majesty of that income which had been so lately granted him, the proceeding would sink and degrade us so much in the eyes of all Europe, that instead of affording any benefit, it would be productive of great national prejudice.

By some other lords in Opposition, however, a new subject was started. They attributed all our misfortunes and calamities to the long increasing, and now prodigious influence of the Crown. They considered the augmentation of the civil list as having greatly increased and confirmed that influence. They said, that all temporizing expedients to relieve the people would prove ineffectual; that a reformation of the constitution was called for; that its principles were perverted; and that, until it was restored to its native and original purity, this country could never recover its former power and character; nor could any thing great or decisive be expected from its utmost exertions. A noble lord in high military office, declared his concurrence with the motion, provided that it extended to all places under government. He knew, he said, that it was what all people expected; that all ranks felt the common calamity, and looked out impatiently for relief; and that he would cheerfully give up the whole emoluments of his own place, for the good of his country. Notwithstanding these apparent marks of defection, however, the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected by 77 to 37.

Subject of undue influence started in the House of Lords.

Lord Shelburne's motion respecting the extraordinaries of the army.

This dispute concerning œconomy seemed to pave the way to another, on the vast sums charged to the extraordinaries of the army, and which became every year

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 XXV. ject of complaint; but as it had formerly been introduced into the House of Commons without success, and did not seem likely to meet with a better reception at any future period, Lord Shelburne now introduced it in the House of Peers, who were accordingly summoned for the purpose. He began by taking a comparative view of the extraordinary military services of former reigns, and of the present. He shewed, that the extras of King William's reign, when a war was carried on in Ireland, Flanders, and the West Indies, did not exceed in the highest year 100,000*l.* during the Revolution war: That in the Succession war, which we maintained in Germany, on the banks of the Danube, in Flanders, Spain, the Mediterranean, North America, and the West Indies, the extraordinaries never exceeded 200,000*l.*; and, that in the first war of the late king, carried on against the combined power of France and Spain, they did not, in any year, exceed 400,000*l.* During the late war also, the most extensive in which Britain had ever engaged, and that which was attended with greater expence than any that had preceded it, the extraordinaries of the year 1757, were only 800,000*l.* while those of 1777, amounted to 1,200,000*l.* besides a million granted on transport-service; in all, more than two millions. In 1762, the most expensive year of the late war, when our arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe, when we supported 80,000 men in Germany, besides victorious armies in North America, the British and French West Indies, the East Indies, in Portugal, on the coast of France, and at the reduction of the Havannah, the whole of the extraordinaries did not exceed two millions; whereas the two last defensive campaigns would be found, when the accounts were made up, to amount to the enormous sum of more than three millions each; and the extra military charges of the last four years, during the greater part of which the contest had been confined to the Americans only, would be found to be about eight millions and a half; a sum very nearly equal to the whole expenditure of the first four years of King William's, and fully equal to the two first years of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns.

His Lordship then proceeded to state and explain the causes to which he attributed the monstrous disproportion between the present military extraordinaries, and those of any former period. In this detail he stated,

that only one contractor had been employed in the last war for the supply of the forces in America; but that the minister had split the present contract into twelve parts, in order to make a return to as many of his friends for the services which he received from them at home: That in the former instance, the sole contractor, Sir William Baker, was bound to furnish provisions on the spot in America, at sixpence *per* ration; whereas the present contractors were only to deliver rations at the same price in Cork; so that the whole freight, insurance, risque, and all other possible expences, were taken out of the pockets of the public; and put into those of the minister's contracting friends. From which, and from a variety of other specified instances of mismanagement, he pledged himself to the proof, that every ration now delivered in America stood the public in two shillings, instead of sixpence which they cost in the last war. One person only, he said, had enjoyed contracts to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* and 3,700,000*l.* had passed through the hands of another contractor to be transmitted to America; but no voucher had been given for the expenditure of this immense sum; the accounts being contained in a few lines, viz. 20,000*l.* in one line, 30,000*l.* in another, &c.

After going over a vast variety of matter relative to the subject of contracts and contractors, whom he treated with as little mercy as the ministers themselves, he opened his views more particularly with regard to his intended motions. An unconstitutional, ministerial influence, he said, had usurped the regal prerogative, which it was now become absolutely necessary to crush for the salvation of the empire. The mischief arose principally from the opportunity now afforded, in a greater degree than ever, to the First Lord of the treasury, of expending millions of public money without account, and consequently without economy; and as the army extraordinaries afforded the most unlimited means to the minister for the propagation and support of that fatal system of influence and corruption, he would make that lavish head of expenditure the first and great object of his inquiry and censure. His Lordship's first motion was accordingly to the following purport:—"That the alarming addition annually making to the national debt, under the head of extraordinaries, incurred in the different services, required immediate check and controul; the increasing the public expence beyond the supplies granted by Parliament being at all times an invasion of the fundamental rights of Parlia-

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ment, and the utmost œconomy being indispensably necessary in the present reduced and deplorable state of the landed interest of Great Britain and Ireland."

To this extraordinary charge the ministers scarce thought proper to make any reply, the cause of which was not properly discovered. Some attributed this to a disagreement between themselves, which did not permit them to be much displeased with the arraignment of a conduct where none of that House were officially concerned; others imagined rather that they were not sufficiently instructed in the nature of the question to answer it fully. Be this as it will, the Chancellor, seeing no likelihood of a debate, proceeded to put the question. The Duke of Manchester expressed the utmost indignation and astonishment, that ministers should venture to sit still under such charges without an attempt at answer or defence. A noble Earl likewise, who had lately succeeded to his seat in the House of Peers, declared, that, during fifteen years he had sat in the other, he had never seen a question of such importance treated with such indifference or silence; or, what was still as bad, with some feeble attempt, which meant nothing, and which seemed intended to mean nothing. Lord Shelburne's motion was, however, rejected by a majority of 81 to 41.

The rejection of this first motion did not prevent his Lordship from intimating that he intended to make a second, the purport of which was, "That a Committee should be appointed to inquire into several parts of the public expenditure, and for taking into consideration what reductions or savings could, with consistency, be made." This was agreed to be laid before the House on the 8th of February following. The victory of ministry on this occasion did not, however, contribute much to an increase of their strength; on the contrary, the public dissatisfaction was thus augmented in a very considerable degree. It was now very generally believed, that no hope of redress existed until such measures were pursued by the people at large as would, by dissolving that unnatural combination supposed to exist between ministers and Parliament, restore the ancient dignity and energy of the latter. The thanks of the city of London were voted to the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Shelburne for their past motions, along with the fullest approbation of that for the 8th of February, and an assurance of every constitutional support in their power to those necessary plans of reformation adopted by them. The business was likewise soon taken up by

City of  
London's  
vote of  
thanks to  
the Duke  
of Rich-  
mond,  
Earl of  
Shelburne  
&c.



the counties, and from this time began to appear that spirit of reformation, which afterwards produced so many meetings, associations, and projects in almost all parts of the kingdom, for correcting the supposed vices of Government, and for restoring the independency of Parliament. The city of London likewise sent letters of thanks and acknowledgment to all the lords who had voted in support of the two past motions, including his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, whose name appeared at the head of the minority on their last division.

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On the very day that Lord Shelburne's motion was opened in the House of Peers, Mr Burke divulged in the House of Commons some parts of a plan of public economy which he had long meditated, and which he meant to propose after the recess. The desire of reformation, he said, operated every where, but where it ought to operate most strongly, namely, in the House itself. The propositions which had lately been made, and were that day making in the other House, though laudable in themselves, were a reproach to that in which he sat. To them who claimed the exclusive management of the public purse, all interference of the Lords in their peculiar province, was at least a reproach. It might even be worse; for if the Lords should assume or usurp the performance of a duty of their's, which they neglected, they would be supported in an usurpation which was become necessary to the public. If both Lords and Commons should conspire in a neglect of their duty, other means, still more irregular than the interference of the Lords, would undoubtedly be resorted to: for he imagined, the nation would, some way or other, have its business done; or otherwise, that it could not much longer continue to be. Lord John Cavendish, Mr Fox, Colonel Barre, Mr Dempster, and Mr Gilbert, spoke to the same purpose; and it was asserted, that the undue influence of the Crown was the true cause of the mischievous origin, the destructive progress, the absurd conduct, and the obstinate prosecution, without hope or view, of the ruinous American war; which was now universally felt, and generally acknowledged, as being in itself the cause of all the other misfortunes of Great Britain, and particularly of the present naval greatness of the House of Bourbon. The two Houses soon after adjourned.

Mr Burke  
announces  
his economic  
plan.

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*County Meetings—Petitions to Parliament—Debates—Mr Burke's plan of Parliamentary independence and œconomy—Committee of Accounts—Patents Places, and Pensions—Difference between Lord North and Sir Fletcher Norton—Duel between Mr Fullarton and Earl of Shelburne—New Levies—Remarkable motion by Mr Dunning—Extraordinaries of the Army—Military Power—Yorkshire Committee—Dissolution and Meeting of Parliament—Mr Cornwall chosen Speaker—Debates on the Address—Thanks to Sir Fletcher Norton—On Sir Hugh Palliser's appointment—Loan—Recess.*

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Great  
numbers  
of county  
meetings,  
&c.

**W**AR being thus declared in the most violent manner on the part of Opposition, the ministers had no reason to plume themselves on their success at the next meeting of Parliament. During the recess, innumerable meetings had been held, petitions framed, and associations formed for the redress of grievances; and so much were the minds of men now agitated, that nothing less than an absolute reform in the constitution of Parliament itself, by shortening its duration, and obtaining a more equal representation of the people, was thought to be adequate to the multitude of evils which now overspread the empire.

Dec. 30.

An example was set to the rest of the kingdom by the county of York. On the 30th of December 1779, a very numerous and respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, including persons of the first consideration and property in the county and the

kingdom, such as perhaps never was assembled in the same manner in this nation, met in the city of York, where a petition to the House of Commons was unanimously agreed upon, and accompanied with a resolution, that a Committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and likewise to prepare the plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform, and such other measures as might conduce to the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee at their next meeting, to be held by adjournment in Easter-week.

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York petition.

In this petition they began by stating, as matters of fact, That the nation had been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; many of our valuable colonies had declared themselves independent, had formed a strict confederacy with our most inveterate and dangerous enemies; and that the consequence of these combined misfortunes had been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, with a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. They then declared, that, "alarmed at the diminished resources, as well as the growing burthens of the country, and convinced, that rigid frugality was now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, they observed with grief, that notwithstanding the calamities and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money had been improvidently squandered; that many individuals enjoyed sinecure places, with exorbitant emoluments and pensions, unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the Crown had acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which if not checked in time, might soon prove fatal to the liberties of the country." They further declared, that, "conceiving the true end of every legitimate government to be, not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that, by the constitution, the custody of the national purse is entrusted in a peculiar manner to that House, they begged leave to represent, that until effectual measures were taken to redress those oppressive grievances, the grant of any additional sum of money beyond the produce of the present taxes, would be injurious to the rights, and derogatory to the honour and dignity of Parliament. They therefore, appealing to the justice of the Commons, most earnest-

CHAP. ly requested, that before any new burthens were laid  
XXVI. upon this country, effectual measures might be taken to  
1780. inquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state."

Though this meeting was held in the seat of the metropolitan see, and immediately under the eye of provincial authority and government, not only a considerable number of the clergy attended, and zealously promoted the resolutions and petition, but fourteen of them, including two dignitaries of the Church, were appointed to the Committee, which was intended to give efficacy to the whole measure and design.

Petitions  
from other  
counties.

The example of York was quickly followed by other counties and corporations. Similar petitions were agreed to by the counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hertford, Sussex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derbyshire; Denbigh, Flint, and Brecknock; as well as by the cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcastle upon Tyne. The county of Northampton declined petitioning, but voted resolutions and instructions to their representatives, to the same purpose with the petitions.

These proceedings greatly alarmed ministry, and even many of those who wished well to the cause of reformation, shuddered at the thoughts of what might be the consequence. Associations and Committees had produced such recent effects in America, and even in Ireland, that the very terms had become suspicious. These fears were dexterously fostered by the ministerial party. It was contended, that the true sense of the counties could not be collected, nor the matter proposed duly examined, in such meetings, so new in their form and so void of regularity; that the petitions conveyed insinuations, injurious and disrespectful to Parliament, to whose province only belonged the granting supplies; and that the petitions and resolutions were calculated to produce diffidence and suspicions in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, at a time when unanimity and confidence in government were essentially necessary to support and invigorate exertions of the state.

In this manner several counties were prevented from petitioning or forming Committees; but, in general, the endeavours of ministry to prevent county-meetings were totally frustrated. So impetuous was the spirit which now prevailed, that Lord Sandwich in person, and at the head of a great body of his numerous friends, could not prevent a petition and Committee from being carried in his own native and favourite county. All endeavours to prevent petitions being thus found abortive, means were used to obtain protests; but though the business was undertaken by one or two persons of great property and consequence, it was attended with very indifferent success. Even in those places where protests were obtained, the dissenting parties durst not oppose the prayer of the petitions, but declared themselves of opinion, that every thing ought to be left to the discretion of Parliament, in whose integrity and public spirit they thought it improper to express, particularly at that time, any kind of distrust.

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The petition from the county of York was presented by Sir George Saville, on the 8th of February, who having at some length entered into the merits of the cause, called upon the minister to speak out like a man, and to declare whether he meant to countenance and support the petition or not. An open and manly declaration would save much time and trouble, and would better become a man of his quality and power, than any mean arts of ministerial juggling and craft. However, he made no threats; the petition was legal and constitutional, not presented by men with swords and muskets. The request of the petitioners was so just and reasonable, that they could not but expect it would be granted. He wished the House to consider from whom the petition came. It was first moved in an assembly of more than 600 gentlemen. In the hall where that petition originated, there was more property than within the walls of the House of Commons. He then threw down on the table, with some vehemence, a list of the names of the gentlemen. "But they are not," said he, "to abandon their petition, whatever may be its fate in this House; there was a Committee to correspond on the subject of the petition with the Committees of other counties." And he concluded by likewise throwing on the table a list of the members of the Committee.

Debates  
on the pe-  
tition, Feb. 8.

The minister gave his consent that the petition should lie on the table. He complained of being threatened if a compliance with the prayer of the petition should be

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Mr  
Burke's  
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independence and  
economy.

delayed only until an inquiry could be made into the reality of the supposed grievances. This, he said, was a very suspicious circumstance; and he concluded his speech with observing, that as the supplies had been already voted, it would be proper in the mean time to consider of the ways and means, leaving the consideration of the petition till some time afterwards.

This speech was severely animadverted upon by Mr Fox, though without any manifest effect. Little debate ensued on any of the other petitions; though one from Jamaica, signed by 75 of the principal planters there, was productive of much altercation for a short time. As no other business of consequence therefore interfered, Mr Burke now brought forward the plan he had proposed for the better security of the independence of Parliament, and the æconomical reformation of the civil and other establishments\*. The scheme of reform was commenced with the royal Household. It comprehended the Treasurer, Comptroller, Cofferer of the Household; the Treasurer of the Chamber; the Master of the Household; the whole Board of Green Cloth; and a vast number of subordinate offices in the department of the Steward of the Household. It included also the whole establishment of the Great Wardrobe,

\* This plan was comprehended in the five following bills:—

1. "A bill for the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of certain useless, expensive and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service."
2. "A bill for the sale of the forest and other crown-lands, rents, and hereditaments, with certain exceptions; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service; and for securing, ascertaining, and satisfying tenant rights, as well as common and other rights."
3. "A bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same; as also for abolishing certain offices now appertaining thereto; for quieting dormant claims, ascertaining and securing tenant-rights, and for the sale of forest lands, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held by his Majesty in right of the said principality, or county palatine of Chester; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."
4. "A bill for uniting to the crown the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster; for the suppression of unnecessary offices now belonging thereto; for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of all rents, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and forests within the said duchy and county palatine, or either of them; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."
5. "A bill for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown: for the suppression of certain unnecessary offices thereto belonging; for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of certain rents, lands and tenements within, or belonging to the said duchy; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."

the Removing Wardrobe, the Jewel Office, the Robes, and almost the whole charge of the civil branch of the Board of Ordnance. All these arrangements taken together, he said, would be found to relieve the nation from a vast weight of influence; and that so far from distressing, it would rather forward every public service.

His plan likewise extended to the destruction of subordinate treasuries, of consequence to the two treasuries or pay-offices of the army and navy. He proposed that these offices should be no longer *banks* or *treasuries*, but mere *offices of administration*; and that all money which was formerly impressed to them, should for the future be impressed to the Bank of England. He was likewise of opinion, that the business of the mint, excepting what related to it as a manufactory, should be transferred to that corporation. He proposed likewise the total removal of the subordinate treasury, and office of the pay-master of the pensions; the payments in future, to be made by the Exchequer; the great patent offices of the Exchequer to be reduced to fixed salaries; and, as the present lives and reversions should fall, the several places of keepers of the stag-hounds, buck-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, to be totally abolished. He also proposed to reform the new office of third secretary of state, commonly called Secretary of State for the Colonies; the fabrication of which like that of all other late arrangements, he considered merely as a job, the two ancient secretaries being supposed now, as heretofore, fully competent to the whole of the public business. He concluded his plan of reduction, by proposing the total annihilation of the Board of Trade, as an office totally useless, answering none of its avowed or supposed purposes, and serving merely to provide eight members of Parliament, and thereby to retain their services. He likewise proposed a limitation of the total amount of pensions to 60,000*l.* per annum; but he did not wish to take away any man's pension, and thought it more prudent, in that respect, not to adhere to the letter of the petitions.

This plan of reduction had annexed to it a plan of arrangement, which he confessed to be the favourite part of his scheme, as he imagined it would prevent all prodigality in the civil-list for the future. He proposed to establish a fixed and invariable order in all payments, from which the first lord of the treasury should not be permitted in any case to deviate. For this purpose, the civil-list payments were to be divided into nine classes,

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C. H. A. P. putting each class forward according to the importance or justice of the demand, or to the inability of the persons entitled to enforce their pretensions. In the first or XXVI. of these classes were placed the judges; in the second, the ministers to foreign courts; in the third, the tradesmen who supplied the crown; in the fourth, the domestic servants of the King, and all persons in efficient offices, whose salaries did not exceed 200*l.* annually; and the fifth class comprehended the pensions and allowances of the royal family, comprehending of course the Queen, together with the stated allowance of the privy purse. The sixth took in those efficient officers of duty, whose salaries might exceed 200*l.* a-year. The whole pension list was included in the seventh; the offices of honour about the King, in the eighth; and the ninth included the salaries and pensions of the first lord of the treasury himself, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other commissioners of that department. To these arrangements were added some regulations, which would for ever have prevented any civil-list debt from coming on the public.

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Mr Burke's speech on this occasion, upwards of three hours in length, was not only hearkened to with the greatest attention, but received the highest encomiums from both sides of the house, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the vast fund of political knowledge displayed by that gentleman with regard to every department of state. The minister perceiving this, thought proper not to object to the plan on the first motion. He assured the House, that no man was more zealous for the establishment of a permanent system of œconomy than himself. But that, besides the subjects of the present being so numerous and various as to require some time for comprehension, some of them affected the King's patrimonial income; on which account he thought it necessary to obtain the consent of the crown before they proceeded upon them. For this reason he proposed to postpone the three bills which related to the crown lands, the principality of Wales, &c. which was yielded to as a point of decorum. In three days, however, they were brought in without any objection. The surveyor-general of the duchy of Cornwall made objections to that relating to the union of this county with the crown, on account of the minority of the Prince of Wales; on which Mr Burke, though with reluctance, withdrew his motion.

A few days after the introduction of Mr Burke's plan, Colonel Barre gave notice of his intention to move for



a Committee of Accompts, as an useful supplement and enlargement of that plan. The appointment of such a Committee, he said, afforded the most easy, if not the most effectual means of correcting those evils which arose from the present mode of voting great sums of money without estimate, and for remedying in some degree the procrastinatory forms, and dilatory course of conducting business, which prevailed in the Exchequer, and by which it was at present totally inadequate to its purposes. He hoped for great advantages, he said, from a Committee consisting only of a few persons: for though he knew that the minister's strength in the House would virtually rest their nomination with him, yet he had great dependence on the smallness of their number; and their consciousness that the eyes of the public were fixed upon them, would operate powerfully.

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Col. Barre  
moves for a  
committee  
of Ac-  
compts,  
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With this proposal the minister readily closed; but it appeared in the event, that the Opposition had outwitted themselves. For the present, however, they plumed themselves on the acquisition; and Colonel Barre gave notice, that he would lay his plan before the House in a short time.

On the following day, Sir George Saville moved, "That an account of all places held by patent from the Crown, with the amount of the salaries annexed to them, and a list of the persons who held them, should be laid before the House." By this account, he said, the House, and of course his constituents, would be enabled to judge of the services done to the state, in return for the salaries paid by it; and then it would be in the judgment of the House to decide what offices were efficient and necessary, and the number that were merely sinecures, and their emoluments a burthen to the people, without any return of service. This being agreed to, he next moved, "That an account of all subsisting pensions granted by the Crown, during pleasure, or otherwise, specifying the amount of such pensions respectively, and the times when, and the persons to whom, such pensions were granted, should be laid before the House." Mr Burke, he said, with that liberality of mind peculiar to his nature, had forgone, in his plan, any inquiry into subjects of that sort; but, however laudable the motives of tenderness upon which he acted certainly were, the people, roused by the urgency of their necessities to a close examination of the state of their affairs, and into the causes of those evils which they experienced, demanded a more strict and rigid mode of conduct.

Motion for  
laying an  
account of  
all patent  
places be-  
fore the  
House.

Likewise  
the pen-  
sion list.

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Though it was evident, on the first proposal of this motion, that it was to meet with a strong and determined opposition, the illness of the speaker delayed it for a week. On its revival, February 21, 1780, the minister moved an amendment, restricting the account to those pensions only which were paid at the Exchequer; but this he afterwards enlarged to the giving the general amount of all pensions, but without any specification of names, or particularly of sums. This produced very long and warm debates, in the course of which the minister had the mortification to find that his power was on the decline, and that he had now to encounter such an opposition as he had never before experienced. Sir George Saville's motion was supported by Mr Dunning, Mr Byng, Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and Colonel Barre; Ministry by Lord North, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and the Attorney-General, Mr Wedderburn. Lord North opposed the motion from a point of delicacy. To expose the necessities of ancient and noble families, whose fortunes were too narrow for the support of their rank, to the prying eye of malignant curiosity, he said, would not only be wanton, but cruel. To expose the man who had a pension, to the envy and detraction of him who had none, and by whom he was therefore hated; to hold him up as an object for the gratification of private malice, and the malevolence of party, merely as a price for the favour conferred on him by the Crown, would be surely a proceeding in its own nature equally odious and contemptible. Yet these were the certain effects of the motion, if carried; along with the furnishing out matter for a feast to newspaper and party writers, to be by them dressed up as they thought proper, for the entertainment of the public, at the expence of the worthiest, noblest, and most deserving members of the state. He had, besides, very sufficient reasons for believing that the true state of the pension list was very little known and understood. Several large salaries were, in exchequer language, classified under the denomination of *pension*, and accordingly swelled the payments in that list, to which they did not properly belong. If these were deducted, along with the four shillings in the pound tax on places and pensions, the remaining pension list would be found not to exceed 50,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* less a year than what was thought reasonable by Mr Burke in his plan of reform. The country meetings, therefore, must have been very ill informed, when they made the supposed excess in that department a leading article in their list of grievances;

and he was certain, that if the people of England knew that all they could expect, by expoling the names of several honourable persons on the pension list, would amount to no more, under the most rigid æconomy, than the saving of a few thousand pounds annually, their hearts would revolt at the idea of such a motion. He concluded, by drawing a distinction between the money granted expressly to Government for the other public services of the state, and that allotted to the civil-list establishment. The former was to be specifically applied, and the proper officers were answerable for the disposal, as well as accountable for the amount. But the money granted to the King for his civil-list, was granted freely, and without controul. It was then his personal property, without being liable to any restriction whatever; and was as fully under his direction, and as entirely at his disposal, as the rents of a private estate could be to the owner.

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This defence of the minister was treated with great contempt. Pensions granted for real service to the public, they said, were marks of honour, not of disgrace. Nor did those granted for the support of ancient and honourable families, whose poverty proceeded from the fault of their ancestors, and not their own, convey the smallest reproach. Ireland afforded a living proof within their own knowledge, that such notions of supposed delicacy were totally idle and unfounded. The holders of pensions in that country were to the full as proud and as delicate as those under the same circumstances in this. Yet the pension list in that kingdom was every second year laid before Parliament, and published in all their newspapers, without its producing any of that disgrace and uneasiness to individuals, and without opening any of those sources of detraction and malevolence, of which the minister now seemed to be so apprehensive. His lordship had, they said, endeavoured with uncommon dexterity, to embarrass matters, and render the object of pursuit apparently so diminutive, as to be unworthy of the national attention. But, even granting that 40 or 50,000*l.* simply considered, was no great object of concern to the nation, yet as every thing must be done by detail in order to become great, it was ridiculous to contend, that such, and even lesser sums, were not proper to be attended to in any scheme respecting the national expenditure. Money, however, they said, was only a secondary object at present, either with the petitioners or themselves. The first and great object of both, was the

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 1780. destruction of that undue and corrupt influence which had been the source of that ruinous expence under which the nation was sinking. If by cutting off 40 or 50,000*l.* a year from the means of that corruption, it was thus possible to exclude forty or fifty voters from that impenetrable parliamentary phalanx, on whom no reason, argument, or affection for their country was ever capable of making an impression, or of deterring from an adherence to the minister of the day, whoever he might be, or in whatever predicament he might stand, it would be gaining an object of no small importance, and prove in the event a means of saving much larger sums. Had such saving taken place, America would still have continued to be the strength and glory of this nation.

The offer made by the minister, of giving an account only of those pensions that were regularly paid at the public offices of the Exchequer, was treated with ridicule. This was a degree of information which any man in the kingdom might easily obtain, by a proper application. But the present inquiries were directed to pensions of another nature. They respected temporary pensions; such as were paid during pleasure, for the purposes of parliamentary corruption. On this head, Mr Byng declared it as a fact, founded on authority which he could not doubt that the minister, at the close of every session, had a settlement of such pensions to make; that a private list of names, with the several sums proportioned to their respective services or merits, was then produced; and that as soon as the money was paid, the paper was burnt, in order to leave no memory of the transaction. Here the Lord Advocate of Scotland interfered, and called on the Opposition, if they were possessed of any proofs, to come forward with them, and name the delinquents; but not to throw about charges of such a nature at random, if they were not able to support and establish them. But to this it was replied, That the learned gentleman well knew they could not possibly possess the species of evidence which the rules of that House rendered necessary to fix such specific charges. The great object of the motion was to obtain that very evidence which was now demanded, but which the minister absolutely refused to grant, at the same time that while his advocates saw the means were withheld, they boldly demanded the evidence which could not be given without them.

It was totally denied that the civil-list revenue was

in any manner of way to be compared to that of a private estate. Great part of it was applied to national purposes, and to the support of the splendour of the Crown. Parliament had a right, and had been in use, to make inquiry into the application; and were it otherwise, the whole might be perverted and applied to the most dangerous purposes.

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In this debate the minister was left almost entirely alone, except what little assistance was given by the two crown lawyers. Upon which Colonel Barre remarked, that not one Englishman had dared to stand up, in the course of the whole day, to support the minister; and that one of his two friends enjoyed sinecure places in Scotland, while the other was looking up to the first situation in the law department of England. The minister being therefore prodigiously harassed, and frequently obliged to shift his ground, his temper was not a little ruffled. However, the dispute was at last carried in his favour by a majority of no more than two, there being for Lord North's amendment 188, against it 186. Opposition were exasperated at their defeat; being persuaded that they had strength enough to have gained their point, could they have persuaded all their friends at that time in town to attend. Sir George Saville declared, that the motion, in its present state, was totally changed from what he had proposed, and could not convey to his constituents that information which he had thought it his duty to endeavour to procure; he should therefore give the matter entirely up, and for the future never trouble himself or his friends, by fruitlessly opposing ministers in whatever point they had determined to carry.

In the beginning of March the minister surprised the Lord House with the publication of his scheme for the appointment of a commission of accounts. He observed, that the amount, the increase, and the manner of conducting the public expenditure, had of late afforded continual topics of debate, conversation, and complaint; that it had been even proposed, to withhold the supplies for those parts of the public service for which estimates were not previously produced: but with regard to this he might repeat what he had already said, that while we were engaged in a widely extended and expensive war, it would be impossible, in many instances, to make previous estimates. However, as he wished, as heartily as any gentleman, to give the fullest satisfaction to the House, he had for that purpose proposed a commission of accounts. A commission, he thought,

North's  
scheme for  
a commission of  
accounts.  
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would have many advantages over a committee of accounts, as it might be strengthened with powers impossible to be invested in the latter; particularly the calling for papers of all sorts, and the examination of witnesses upon oath. To obviate, however, some reflections that had been thrown out relative to the committee to be appointed, he intended to make it a provision in his intended bill, that the commissioners be respectable, intelligent, and independent gentlemen, who were not members of either House of Parliament.

This was so far from giving satisfaction to the opposite party, that Colonel Barre, the first proposer of the business, complained of it as a procedure of which the history of Parliament could scarce produce an equal. His scheme had been founded on a wish to serve the public, and a wish to check the profusion of those who managed the public expenditure; but the strong arm of the minister had wrested it out of his hands, and put an end to his labours. He had called upon the noble lord to know whether he would assist him or not, for two reasons—the one, that he knew nothing effectual could be done in opposition to his power; the other, that he knew it would be impossible, without the aid of his authority, to penetrate into the arcana of many matters which loudly demanded investigation. He had not indeed been without hope, that he might have interested his lordship in the inquiry by making him a party. But instead of giving assistance, he said, his lordship had made himself at once the principal; and without once consulting or advising with him; without any comparison of scheme, or communication of design, now came out with a plan of his own, at the very instant that he had brought his to the point aimed at. His opposition, however, was not the effect of disappointment. He should be satisfied, provided the end was obtained; but he insisted, that the schemes were essentially different, and that of the minister, made not to supply but counteract the other.

Proceed-  
ings on Mr  
Burke's æ-  
conomical  
bill.

While opposition were thus reprobating the minister's plan, Mr Burke's æconomical bill, having been read a first time, was proposed for a second reading. This seemed very disagreeable to the minister, who charged the minority with precipitating a measure not sufficiently considered; until at last being called upon to declare, whether he would oppose it on the second reading, or let it go to a committee, he declared, after much apparent irresolution, that he did not mean to oppose it. The bill being then read a second time with

but opposition, another debate ensued on its commitment. Mr Burke insisted on its being committed the ensuing day, and the minister that it should be delayed for some time. The reasons given on his part were, the vast magnitude and variety of the objects included in it; though by Opposition it was imputed to the desire of procrastinating an event which he could not get totally rid of. After some altercation, however, the question was carried in favour of the minister by 230 to 195.

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In the appointment of a Committee for taking the bill into consideration, doubts were suggested by Mr Rigby, paymaster of the forces, concerning the competency of Parliament to consider any thing relative to the expenditure of the civil list. For his own part, he said, he had considered, and always should, that the civil-list revenue was as much and as fully his Majesty's property as any determinable estate was the property of a private person. It had been settled on his Majesty for life at his accession to the throne, which was an interest no power on earth could deprive him of without manifest injustice; of consequence, that part of the bill which proposed a controul of the civil list, and an appropriation of the savings to arise from the reform, was an attempt no less contrary to precedent than to justice, and would, in fact, reduce the Sovereign to the state of a precarious pensioner, whose uncertain stipend would at all times be liable to still further reduction. But to what purpose was such manifest injustice offered? To lessen the supposed influence of the Crown. He had heard a great deal about this influence; but he believed, from experience, that it was never less than at that time.

Though Opposition now contended, that the full principle of the bill had been already admitted, yet they did not think proper to insist much on that head, but instantly entered with great vigour into the debate of the competency of the measure. The ministers, though very much disposed to adopt the opposite doctrine, were by no means pleased at the introduction of such a subject at this time, and in the temper in which the nation in general was at present. They endeavoured, therefore, to get rid of it as handsomely as they could, by applauding the doctrine, and complimenting the speakers in favour of it; but declined the consideration of the merits of the question itself, on account of its being an abstract proposition, which it was improper to discuss, unless it had been introduced in public business immedi-

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ately before the House. Opposition, however, were by no means inclined to suffer them to escape from the dilemma in which they were involved. Mr Fox attacked the doctrine with all that strength of argument, and keenness of irony and satire, for which he had been all along so much distinguished. He insisted, that this question must be first got rid of before the subject of the bill could be at all discussed. And he concluded a most animated speech by declaring, that if the proposition should be agreed to by a majority of the House, he should consider his toils and labours at an end; and as his presence there could be of no farther use or consequence, he should never again enter it.

On the other hand, the friends of administration insisted, that Mr Rigby's proposition did not by any means involve a denial of the right to reform abuses; but only asserted the injustice of interfering with the civil-list expenditure, without proper proof of abuse previous to the interference. This maxim, they said, was supported by the constitution, admitting the right to exist in the strongest manner in which it had been stated or supposed on the other side. But as the purport of the proposition had already been misconceived or misrepresented within doors, there could be no doubt of its being much more so out of doors; nor could they derive the extreme eagerness shewn by Opposition to bring the honourable gentleman's proposal under discussion, from any other motive than a desire to furnish grounds for false reports, if the House should agree to it.

This mode of reasoning was much ridiculed by the leaders of Opposition. The supposed injustice of inquiry before proof, they said, was in the highest degree absurd; being in truth the same with asserting, that though a man ought to be punished for the commission of a crime, it would be unjust to try him until his guilt were fully proved. The question being at length put, Whether the House should resolve itself into a Committee on Mr Burke's bill, or first enter into a discussion of Mr Rigby's proposition?—it was decided in favour of ministry by a majority only of six; a most unusual division on the part of the minority, which was rendered still more remarkable by the circumstance of Mr Rigby's voting in the minority, and in direct opposition to all his friends in administration.

First clause  
for abol-  
ishing the  
office of  
Third Se-  
cretary of  
State, re-  
jected.

The first clause in the bill was that for abolishing the office of Third Secretary of State, called also Secretary for the Colonies; and which was afterwards modified to the simple description of One of his Majesty's Princi-



pal Secretaries of State. The principal arguments used in favour of administration were, That Parliament had no right to interfere in the civil-list expenditure; and even though this right should be granted, it could only be in cases of gross abuse, previously and incontestibly proved. When that was once done, the House was undoubtedly competent to point out to the Sovereign the proper mode of removing and correcting them: but that mode was not by passing a law of resumption; a method which, if at all resorted to, should only be in cases of the last extremity, when all other means had been tried and found ineffectual. They ought likewise to consider what the abolishment led to. The clause before them made but a part, and a very small one, of the multifarious bill to which it belonged. But if the propriety of this clause should be established, the same principle would reach to every other part of the bill, and even the domestic arrangements of his Majesty within the palace would be disturbed. Besides it could not, with any shadow of justice, be asserted either that the place was a sinecure, or that it was attended with exorbitant fees, perquisites, or emoluments; that it was a heavy or expensive establishment, or a great source of influence in the House. If it should be said that it was useless or unnecessary, it was incumbent on those who made the assertion to produce some proof; at the same time, that they ought to establish the right, as well as shew the expediency of interfering with the Sovereign in such an indelicate manner, as that of resuming a gift which had been once granted him, and that too on his accession; a grant which he received as a compensation for the ample revenue to which he was entitled from the very instant he was proclaimed King. On this occasion it was also argued, that there had been a third secretary of state as early as the reign of Edward VI. and even in the late reign, which was now the fashion to hold out as the purest model of political virtue, it had subsisted for several years; so that it was in fact no new office, but an old one revived. But whether the office was old or new, an objection of great weight was, that it gave rise to a most dangerous precedent, and established it as a maxim, that the legislature were the only proper judges of the detailed exercise of the executive power. This would affect not only every establishment already made, but which might hereafter be made; at the same time, that it divested the crown of one of its most valuable rights and prerogatives, and would disable it from discharging

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those duties which were vested in it by the constitution, by taking away the right and exercise of judgment with respect to the manner in which it could most faithfully and effectually discharge those duties.

In answer to this, besides urging a variety of arguments in the most violent manner, the Opposition endeavored to shew, that the historical facts adduced by administration, in order to prove that an office similar to that now in dispute had formerly existed, were only so many attempts to shew, that though the usefulness of an office was discovered upon trial, it ought nevertheless to be continued. The question was not with regard to the customs of ancient or modern princes, but merely with respect to the utility of the office. On this subject it was sufficient to observe, that the nation had risen to the highest pitch of glory and power, as well as increased in population, to a degree unknown in other nations, when no more than two secretaries of state were employed; nay, it was contended, that every happy feature in that picture had disappeared on the appointment of a third secretary. That appointment had been the means of not only losing the colonies, but converting them into our most bitter enemies; and, along with the loss of our colonies and commerce, we had suffered such disgrace in the eyes of every European power, as this country had never before experienced. The argument on the part of Opposition was concluded by observing, that to a stranger it would seem, from the reasoning made use of by administration, that they were endeavoring to deprive the King of the money allotted for his privy purse, or to curtail the means of his personal pleasures, amusements, or satisfaction. No person, however, could be so blind as not to perceive that the objects were totally distinct. The proposed reform went to that great part of the civil-list establishment, which, being dedicated to public purposes, was consequently liable to public reform; and in which the Sovereign, acting only as the trustee of the people, could have no other interest than that which was so constantly denied, of supporting an undue and corrupt influence. But, at any rate, that revenue, like all others, must be affected by the exigencies of the times, and proportioned to the ability of the public by which it was granted and paid. At the accession of his Majesty, when a large revenue was granted and paid for life, the nation was great, flourishing, and glorious beyond example. The liberality of the grant was suited to the happiness of the time. The smallest no-

tice was not then given of the fatal designs which lay in embryo, or of the ruinous measures that were to be pursued. At that time the loss of America and our West India Islands was not so much as dreamed of. It was evident then, that the superstructure could have no greater stability than the foundation. Even supposing, what can never be admitted, that the granters had no power of revocation, still the revenue must depend upon their ability to pay it. To suppose that the establishments of the Sovereign would not be affected by the public distresses and calamities of the country, was such an absurdity as not to deserve any answer or notice. It was scarcely less than treason to royalty even to suppose that the Sovereign would not willingly participate in the evil as well as the good fortune of his subjects.

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At a quarter before three o'clock in the morning, the Committee divided, and the Office of Third Secretary of State was preserved by a majority of no more than seven, the numbers being 208 against 201.

The ministers finding themselves so violently attacked both within and without doors, rather chose to oppose their antagonists indirectly in order to gain time. They brought the low state of the majorities as an argument to prove that the influence of the crown was not increased; while Opposition contended, that the present state of the divisions was owing to the temper of the people without doors.

In the next clause of the bill the Opposition were more successful. This was the abolition of the Board of Trade. On this subject the opponents of ministry endeavoured to prove, that the Board in question was totally inefficient and useless; or, if at any time it was active, it became either mischievous or ridiculous; but of late it had dwindled into a mere sinecure office, which answered no other purpose, than that of providing eight members for Parliament, and securing their votes to the minister by a pension of a thousand a year each. On this occasion it was shewn, that when the business of trade and plantations had been managed by a Committee of Council without salaries, it had been attended by persons of greater rank, weight, and ability, and that much more difficult and delicate business was transacted with more expedition and satisfaction than after the appointment of the Board of Trade. The question was called after two in the morning, when the abolition of the Board was carried against ministry by a majority of eight; the numbers being 207 against 199. Some members in Opposition had endeavoured to per-

Second  
clause for  
abolishing  
the Board  
of Trade,  
adopted,  
March 13.

CHA P. suade the Lords of Trade to withdraw before the division, on the footing of decency : but the question was too interesting for them to make any sacrifice to delicacy and punctilio on such an occasion.

1789.  
Difference between the minister and Sir Fletcher Norton.

During the debates on this subject it was first discovered, that the minister and Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker of the House of Commons, were on bad terms. Mr Fox having called up the latter to give his private opinion as a member, and his professional one as a lawyer, on the competency of Parliament to controul the civil-list revenue, the speaker, after stating several other reasons against complying with Mr Fox's request, declared also, that he had formerly given an opinion with regard to a law question in that House, (supposed to allude to a clause in the royal marriage bill), which not only subjected him to a misinterpretation of his conduct ; but he had also the misfortune to find, that he had thereby given offence in a quarter where he certainly did not intend to wish to give any. He then took notice, that the minister had long withdrawn from him all kind of friendship and confidence. That from the time of his reporting the sense of that House at the bar of the other, on delivering the money bills for the discharge of the civil-list debts, and the encrease of its revenue, all appearances of friendship and confidence had ceased on the part of the ministry ; tho' he was still at a loss to guess what just cause of offence he had given. After apologizing for his conduct on that occasion, and giving some hints of a recent injury he had received, he declared, that he was not a friend to the minister, and he had repeated and convincing proofs that the minister was no friend to him. The time, however, was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of the transaction public : but, if the noble lord did not do him justice, he would state the particulars to the House ; and he would submit to them, how far he was bound to remain in a situation, where a performance of the duties annexed to it subjected him to gross and flagrant injury.

The minister expressed the greatest surprise at this charge, as well as ignorance concerning any thing that could possibly have given occasion to it ; which at length induced Sir Fletcher to depart from his proposed intention of keeping secret the injury he had received, and to lay it before the House. It was stated by Sir Fletcher, that, upon the death of the late speaker, he had been strongly solicited by the minister at that time (the Duke of Grafton) to accept of the

honourable station of Speaker of the House of Commons. As he had then several very strong objections to his acceptance of the place in question; particularly, that his business as a lawyer would thereby be interrupted; the minister endeavoured to remove that objection, by promising, that in consequence of the advantages he had given up, he should be entitled to hold the sinecure place of Chief Justice in Eyre, which he now possessed. But notwithstanding this, he had lately discovered, to his great surprise, that a negotiation was then on foot between the present minister, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension, for the purpose of another to supply his place, and to the utter subversion of his own claim. He assured the committee, that he never meant to challenge their attention upon any subject merely personal to himself: but thinking at all times, that nothing ought to be kept more pure and unpolled than the fountains of public justice, he could not but feel when any measure was adopted, under whatever pretext, that might afford even a colour of their being corrupted, or that any improper means were used for rendering the courts of justice subservient to party and to factious views; on which account, he thought it incumbent upon him to relate the whole transaction. Money, he said, had been proposed to be given and received to a very large amount, to bring about the arrangement he had mentioned; and he pledged himself to the House, that at a proper time he would bring a satisfactory proof of what he had asserted.

To all this the minister replied, that he did not look upon himself to be responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. He did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman of the considerations on which he had accepted the chair; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transactions at the time, nor looked upon himself as bound, when he did come into office, by any such promise. With respect to the speaker's assertion, that a negotiation, such as he had described, was on foot, and that money had been proposed to be given and received, he totally denied it; assuring the speaker, that he had been grossly misinformed; and, as he himself was accused of being one of the acting parties, he was entitled to say, that no such negotiation was on foot.

This produced such a scene of altercation between  
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these two illustrious antagonists as had never before been exhibited in the British Parliament; but though the affair made a great noise at the time, it produced no farther effect, than that of furnishing Opposition with a new argument, namely, that the alarming influence of the crown had not only pervaded, but disturbed every part of the national œconomy. In the mean time, however, the arrangement which Sir Fletcher Norton had attributed to a negotiation denied by the minister to exist, took place in the same manner as though the negotiation had actually existed, and had its full effect.

Duel betwixt Mr Fullarton and the Earl of Shelburne  
March 20.

These contentions, however, now shewed their pernicious and fatal effects, in producing a duel betwixt Mr Fullarton and the Earl of Shelburne, in consequence of some strictures which had been passed in the House of Lords, on the appointment of the former to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and the command of an intended new regiment. Some expressions used on this occasion induced Mr Fullarton, on the 20th of March, to take notice of the subject in his place, as member of the House of Commons, before any farther steps were taken for obtaining satisfaction otherwise. The reflections, as he understood, were extremely gross: the noble Earl had termed him a *clerk*, and, in the most contemptuous manner declared, that a clerk ought not to be trusted with a regiment. But, while he was proceeding in a strain of personal invective against the Earl of Shelburne by name, Mr Fox called him to order, and exclaimed against the unparliamentary mode of stating in one House what was done in the other, as well as of mentioning peers by name; a practice not to be endured, and contrary to every rule of the House. After stating the impossibility of knowing, whether the words alluded to were really spoken or not, he proceeded to argue the impropriety of considering what was said in debate as a personal attack. On that footing, he must, once for all, declare, that, if such a custom prevailed, all freedom of debate must cease; and he contended, that the most essential of all the rights of Parliament would be lost, if it were once admitted as a principle, that a personal affront was offered to gentlemen whenever their names and public conduct were mentioned in debate. The minister, as well as several other members on the side of administration interfered: but, after much altercation, Mr Fullarton still continued to defend himself, by observing, that the noble Earl had attacked him by name; and he now fur-

ther vindicated himself by informing the House, that his Lordship had said, that he (Mr Fullarton) and his regiment, would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes. His resentment therefore being increased, instead of being diminished, by what passed in the House, a duel took place two days after, in which the Earl of Shelburne was wounded. This duel was taken notice of in the House of Commons, on the afternoon of the same day on which it happened, by Sir James Lowther, as a matter of the utmost importance. He said that this custom of fighting duels in consequence of parliamentary business, or of expressions dropped in either House, seemed growing into such a custom, that it was necessary for them to interpose their authority, before it acquired the force of a settled habit, otherwise that there must be an end of all freedom of debate, and consequently of all business in Parliament. He therefore hoped, that the House would exert itself in such a manner as to render the two recent instances the last of the kind. If free debate was to be interpreted into personal attack, and questions of a public nature to be decided by the sword, it would be better totally to give up all ideas of Parliamentary discussion, and to resort at once to the field, where, without farther trouble, they might have recourse to arms as the only method of settling political differences.

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March 22.

The inquiry was strongly opposed by Mr Fullarton's friends, on the footing of impropriety or indelicacy while he was absent. To this Sir James replied, that he had no intention of pushing the matter farther at present; but that he was determined to bring it forward in some shape or other; and he desired Mr Fullarton's friends to inform him of his intention. On the other hand, the members in Opposition contended, that the words spoken by the Earl were, in the strictest sense, parliamentary language. The honourable gentleman had confounded public debate with private conversation; and having drawn the line of distinction betwixt these two, they concluded, that without the free discussion which they had pointed out, there could in fact be no room for agitating any question at all. The debates on this subject, in fact, produced so little good effect in the way of conciliating matters, that they had well nigh given occasion to another quarrel betwixt Mr Fox and a gentleman in high office. The public took part in the affair, and the Earl of Shelburne was congratulated from all quarters on his recovery, receiv-

C H A P. ed the most flattering acknowledgments on account of  
 XXVI. his spirited and patriotic behaviour, and one county  
 1780. passed a vote of censure, by which they declared the  
 late attacks on Mr Fox and the Earl of Shelburne to be  
 highly reprehensible.

Third  
 Clause, for  
 the aboli-  
 tion of the  
 Treasurer  
 of the  
 Chamber,  
 &c. reject-  
 ed.

The 20th of March was also remarkable for the introduction of Mr Burke's third clause, for the abolition of the offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Treasurer of the Household, Cofferer, and a number of subordinate places belonging to them. This was looked upon by many of the friends of administration with the greatest horror, as a kind of sacrilege with regard to the person and dignity of the Sovereign. This, they said, was not regulation of office ; it was an intrusion into the king's own household. The state had nothing to do with the domestic servants of the King. The bill they considered from the beginning as a systematic attack on the constitution, and the pernicious tendency of it appeared every day more and more. The question with them was not the utility of the employments, but the power of taking them away. If this could be done by Parliament, the King had nothing that he could call his own. They represented the scheme of supplying the household by contract, as mean, degrading, and vexatious, suited rather to the mode of feeding the poor in workhouses than to the splendour and dignity of a court, and that in the richest country in the world.

On the other hand, it was argued by Opposition, That the supposed insult and indignity to the Sovereign was too absurd to deserve any answer. Nothing was to be touched that could either affect the personal satisfaction and pleasures of the Sovereign, or diminish the splendour and magnificence of the throne. They asked, Whether the French monarch had suffered any loss of reputation either in the opinion of his own subjects, or of others, by the prodigious reform which he had so successfully made in his own household ? The King was already furnished with many things in the way of contract, though in the worst manner possible. The late Prince of Wales, his Majesty's father, was furnished in this manner. Even at the present time, when the Court intended any thing worthy of its state, it was so furnished. It was more princely, they said, to be supplied at large, and on one great scale, than by small and pitiful detail. With regard to the King's living in a state of dependence on the people, he said, it was the very circumstance of his dignity ; that which constituted him



a king; and, instead of being any disgrace, was the highest honour at which he could arrive.

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Mr Burke himself insisted very much on the present clause of the bill; and said, that if this was carried against him, he would consider the whole as lost. The office of treasurer of the Chamber was the first office he had fixed upon; it led the way, and involved all the rest. He concluded by declaring, that he would not continue to torture his weak and disordered constitution by fighting his bill through inch by inch, but would leave it to the people at large to go on with it as they thought proper; and they would judge by the event, how far their petition were likely to procure redress for the grievances they complained of.

This declaration was highly resented by the court party, who affected to consider it as dictatorial, and conveying a kind of menace to the Committee. They said, that in a bill containing such great variety of matter, it was not to be wondered that some parts should be highly exceptionable, though others were equally laudable. It was not denied, that many of the principles might be adopted with advantage; but it was not from thence to be inferred, that those which were improper, absurd, or impracticable, were also to be admitted. It was therefore a very strange, as well as unfair conclusion, that the rejection of the present, or any other exceptionable clause, should be considered as a rejection of the whole.

In this manner the debates were carried on till very late when the question was lost by 210 to 158. Mr Burke then declared his total indifference as to what became of the rest of the bill; but Mr Fox encouraged him to go on. The mere abolition of the Board of Trade, even if nothing more was done, he said, was worth the struggle; for as he was determined, and hoped his honourable friend would join him, in renewing his bill from session to session, they would have seven fewer of the enemy to encounter the next time. The succeeding parts were accordingly gone through, and each of them negatived without a division.

This debate was followed by another on the subject of the new levies, and the innovations which were said by Opposition to have taken place with regard to the promotions in the army. The most remarkable particulars in this dispute were the strong charges of partiality brought against the ministry, who were accused of carrying their prejudice in favour of Scotland to the most alarming and unconstitutional height; which was

Debates  
on the  
new levies.

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said to be at that time the more dangerous, because the people of Scotland had, with very few exceptions, been all along most violently attached to the support of every measure proposed by administration, in whatever manner it might affect the interest of the country. They brought also a charge of a very shameful nature against the people of Scotland in general. It was their peculiar characteristic to be more subjected to local attachments, and to violent prejudices of a local nature, as well as others, than any nation upon earth; insomuch, that it was a fact well known to all military men, that no English officer could live in any regiment the majority of which was Scotch; while, on the other hand, no Scotch gentleman ever found the smallest difficulty in living in a regiment mostly, or even entirely, composed of English. After a long detail of facts to shew the strange partiality of ministry, their neglect of English gentlemen, and suffering the highest military merit in them to pass unrewarded, they insisted, that, to render the matter even absurd and ridiculous to the last degree, the ministers had allowed their new favourites to raise regiments in the very heart of England, instead of sending them to that part of the kingdom where their natural influence and connections might be supposed to exist; and thus the regiments, though really English, were in fact commanded entirely by Scots officers, as if the southern part of the kingdom could not produce men qualified for the command of its own forces.

In answer to all this the ministerial party chiefly contented themselves with denying the particular articles charged against them: They brought various examples of English merit having met with its just reward, as well as that of Scotland. The great object of contention was the appointment of Colonel Fullarton to the command of an English regiment, which he had raised for Government. Many encomiums were passed on the private character and public spirit of that gentleman. They contended, that when gentlemen of active and enterprising spirits made a tender of their abilities, and directed them to particular services of the first importance, it would be indefensible in Government to have refused their offers; and the more especially, when the conditions on which they offered their regiments to the public were much cheaper than those of others. The question before the Committee being put, viz. Whether the sums allowed in the estimates for the raising and support of the new raised corps

should be agreed to? was carried in favour of ministry by 102 to 66. CH A P. XXVI.

On the following day, however, (April 6th) administration met with a severe defeat; a more remarkable resolution having been adopted than any that had been passed in the British Parliament since the revolution. The day had been previously appointed for taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England, amounting to 40 in number, and filled with such immense numbers of subscriptions as occupied a most astonishing bulk. The business was introduced by Mr Dunning; who, with his usual eloquence and ability, observed, that though the petitions conveyed many different ideas, they all agreed in one fundamental principle, which was, the setting limits to the dangerous, increased, and unconstitutional influence of the Crown; and a request of an æconomical method of spending the public money. Though these appeared to be two different subjects, they were, he said, very strictly connected. If the public money was faithfully applied, and frugally expended, it would in its effect reduce the undue influence of the Crown; and if, on the other hand, that influence should be reduced within its due bounds, it would immediately restore the energy of Parliament, and once more give efficacy to the exercise of that great power of seeing to the disposal, and controuling the expenditure of the public money, with which the constitution had invested the House. Having stated at great length the little regard which had been paid to the petitions of so many counties, he concluded, that as every means had failed of producing the desired effect, he thought it his duty, and it was the duty of the House, to take some determinate measure, by which the people might certainly know what they had to trust to, and whether their petitions were adopted or rejected; and, in order to bring matters fairly to a decision, he said, that he should now frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on the table, and take the sense of the Committee upon them.

The first of these propositions was, that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The fact, he said, was so notorious, that he disclaimed all idea of that kind of explicit proofs, which, as they were necessary in other cases, were also easily obtained; but in this were altogether impracticable. As a collateral evidence, however, he observed, that nothing less than the most alarming and corrupt influence could induce a number of gen-

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Remark-  
able moti-  
ons by Mr  
Dunning,  
April 6.

Influence  
of the  
Crown.

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members in that House to support the minister by their votes in those measures which they reprobated without doors as absurd and ruinous. This he declared upon his honour to be the case, and within his own immediate knowledge; and he added, that he himself had never bestowed upon the measures of administration such severe epithets as had fallen in his presence from the mouths of members abroad, who had nevertheless supported them within the walls of the House. Nor was the number small who behaved in this manner, as he had it in his power, were not the task too invidious, to point out more than 50 members who held such strange language and conduct.

On this trying occasion the ministry defended themselves by calling Mr Dunning's resolution an *abstract proposition*, and which ought not to come before the House. In other respects it was entirely useless, being neither calculated to avert any evil, nor to point out any remedy; it was unsupported by facts; and, as for the allegations of Mr Dunning, they could answer for themselves, that they were totally without foundation. The very unfortunate circumstances of the times, when the people were universally discontented by the consequences of a ruinous war, and their own heavy burthens, shewed that the influence of the Crown could not be increasing. It was besides very unfair to represent matters in such a light as if the influence of the Crown had only taken place during the present administration. This was a censure of such a severe nature, that the most substantial and solid proofs were evidently required before it could be adopted; whereas there was not a single word of evidence tending in any manner of way to shew, that the present administration was in the least different from those which had gone before it.—Nothing, however, proved more galling to the Court party than Mr Dunning's information with regard to the reprobation of ministerial measures without doors, by those who voted for them within the house. Even the fact was controverted as much as could decently be done. One Court Lord, after every degree of execration of such kind of men, if they really existed, called upon them to quit their side of the House, and go over to the other. "Go, said he, you worst of men! Be your hearts and motives ever so corrupt, preserve some appearance of principle and decency, by supporting those principles in public which you approve of, and secretly avow in private."

On this occasion, however, the ministry were not

attended with their usual success. The Speaker (Sir <sup>CHAP.</sup> Fletcher Norton) now joined his influence to that of <sup>XXVI.</sup> Opposition. He said, that however disagreeable it might be to him to take any part in the debates of the House, there were some cases, and he considered the present as one of them, in which it would be criminal to remain silent. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, that the influence of the Crown was increasing; but, at the same time, he asserted, that the allegation could admit of no proofs; it could only be known by the members of the House who were to decide upon it as jurors, from the internal conviction arising in their minds. After appealing to the feelings of the gentlemen who heard him, and pointing out how idle it was to prescribe limits to the prerogatives of the Crown, while they permitted a more dangerous, because concealed influence to remain, he observed, that the Government of Britain, under its true and proper definition of "a monarchy limited by law," required no other assistance for the exercise of its functions, than what it derived from the constitution and the laws. The powers vested in the executive part of Government, and, in his opinion, wisely placed there, were abundantly sufficient for every useful purpose of Government, and without any further assistance were too ample for the purposes of bad government; and he thought himself bound, as an honest man, to declare, that the influence of the Crown had increased far beyond the bounds of a monarchy strictly limited in its nature and extent. He likewise observed, that it was no doubt very galling to the House to be informed of their duty by the petitioners; but they ought to recollect, that it was entirely their own fault. What the petitioners now demanded ought to have originated within the walls of the House; and then, what would now bear the appearance of too much compulsion, would have been received with gratitude.—But, at any rate, they ought to consider that they were then sitting as the representatives of the people, and solely for their advantage and benefit, and that they in duty stood pledged to that people, as their creators, for the faithful discharge of their trust.

The authority of the Speaker had such an effect, that the ministerial party soon found the question going against them. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, in order to prevent it from being lost, proposed such an amendment as he supposed would be rejected by Opposition, and consequently that the whole would fall to

**CHAP.** the ground. The amendment consisted only in inserting  
**XXVI.** the words, "That it is now necessary to declare;"  
 1780. but in this he was mistaken: the amendment was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and, upon a division, Mr Dunning's motion was carried by 223 to 215.

Civil list  
 expenditure.

This important resolution being carried, Mr Dunning then moved his second proposition, "That it is competent to this House to examine into, and to correct abuses of the civil-list expenditure, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do." The minister then intreated that the Committee would proceed no further that night; notwithstanding which, the question was put, and carried without a division.

Mr Thomas Pitt then moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of the House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom." The minister again intreated and implored the Committee that they would proceed no farther that night, but without any success; for the motion was instantly carried without any apparent dissent. The business was concluded by a motion of Mr Fox, That the foregoing resolutions should be immediately reported.—The minister opposed this with all his might, as being unusual, violent, and arbitrary. But the torrent was now too strong to be resisted. The resolutions were severally reported and received; and, after being read a first and second time, agreed to without a division.

Thus the ministerial system seemed to be shaken to its foundation; the triumph of Opposition could only be equalled by the terror and dismay of administration. On the 10th of the month, Mr Dunning, in pursuance of his plan, moved, "That, in order to support the independence of Parliament, and to remove all suspicions of its purity, there should be laid before the House, by the proper officer, every session, within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all the monies paid out of the civil-list, or any part of the public revenue, to or for the use, or in trust, for any member of Parliament, since the last recess, by every person who shall have paid the same." The power of administration at this time was so low, that though several objections were made to this proposition by Lord North, Mr Wedderburn, Mr Macdonald, and the Lord Advo-

cate of Scotland, it was carried without a division. But when Mr Dunning moved his other resolution, excluding from a seat in the House those who held the Offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Treasurer of the Household, Cofferer of the Household, Comptroller of the Household, Master of the Household, and Clerks of the Green Cloth, with all their deputies, a vigorous opposition ensued, and the motion was carried by no more than two; the numbers being 215 to 213.

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Exclusion of certain crown officers from sitting in Parliament

The next attempt, however, of Opposition, was frustrated. On the second reading of Mr Crewe's bill "for excluding revenue officers from voting at the election of members of Parliament"—after a long debate, the question was carried in favour of ministry by 224 to 195.

A sudden cessation of business was occasioned next day by the illness of the Speaker. The House was adjourned to the 24th, and on its next meeting appeared so totally altered, that it no longer seemed to consist of the same members who had voted the spirited resolutions of the 6th of the same month. The illness of the Speaker had occasioned one of Mr Dunning's motions, and that a very important one, to be postponed. It was for "An address to his Majesty, requesting that he would neither dissolve nor prorogue the Parliament, until proper measures should be taken by that House to diminish the influence of the crown, and to remove the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people." On this motion most violent debates ensued: the minister applauded, in an extraordinary manner, his friends whom he now found returning to his standard, while the censures of Opposition were no less violent and acrimonious on those who had deserted them. On the question being carried in favor of ministry by a majority of 51, Mr Fox got up to speak; but the ministerial party, dreading his eloquence, especially after such provocation, resolved that he should not be heard. A most extraordinary scene of confusion and disorder ensued; and the chair being repeatedly called upon to exercise its authority, the Speaker at length, with the utmost vehemence of voice, called upon every side of the House to order; and having caused the bar to be cleared by the proper officers, required and insisted that every member should take his place. The way being thus cleared for Mr Fox, the deserters were condemned to hear their conduct represented in such a manner as perhaps was never done on any occasion in that House before, the severity of which was aggravated by the consciousness that the treatment they received was not altogether unmerited.

Motion not to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament.

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Mr Fox was seconded in his censure by Mr Dunning, and a direct charge of treachery against the nation brought by both. The counties, they said, depending on the faith of Parliament for the redress held out by those resolutions, had relaxed greatly in the measures they had formerly pursued for obtaining it by other means; and the county of Cambridge in particular had, upon that dependence, rescinded its own resolution of appointing a Committee of Association. They both likewise declared, that the division of this night was totally decisive with regard to the petitions; that it amounted to a full and general rejection of their prayer; and that all hope of obtaining any redress for the people in that House was at an end. The minister replied in his usual strain of address; and the House being now disposed to assent to whatever he said, the affair of reformation was totally abandoned, and the remainder of Mr Burke's establishment bill was rejected as fast as it was proposed.

On the  
Commission  
on of Ac-  
counts,  
May 1.

The next business was the Commission of Accounts proposed by the minister; which, as we have seen, had been formerly snatched out of the hands of Colonel Barre, and on that, as well as other accounts, had been productive of much reproach to the court party. One of the greatest objections brought against the conduct of ministry on this occasion was, that the commissioners were not to be members of the House. This was said to be directly subversive of the constitution. It was no less than a surrender of the first right of the House, that of managing, as well as granting, the public money, and of directing and controuling its expenditure.

On the ex-  
traordina-  
ries of the  
army.

The minister, however, persevered, and at last carried his point; the Opposition having gained nothing by the struggle but the exclusion of one gentleman in office, to whose personal character they had not the smallest objection.

The extraordinaries of the army were now brought under consideration by Colonel Barre, who had taken great pains to investigate the subject. The result of his investigations was, that from the 31st of January 1779, to the first of February 1780, the sum of 1,528,027l. 2 s. was stated in the papers presented to the House, to have been applied to the service of the land forces in North America; of which sum on account was ever produced to the public, tho' the said sum was over and above the pay, clothing, provisions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of cer-



tain General and Staff-officers, pay of several Commis-  
 sioners, and other allowances for the said forces. He then shewed, that the sum of 3,796,543<sup>l</sup>. had been applied to the service of the land forces in North America during the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, of which no account had been laid before Parliament, though he said sums had been over and above every allowance of the kind already mentioned for the troops, including also contingents for rum, &c. He moved therefore, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army to so large an amount, and without the authority of Parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invasion of the rights of this House, and one of the gross abuses of the expenditure of the public money complained of in the petitions of the people.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the creation of new, unnecessary, or sinecure offices in the army, with considerable emoluments, is a profusion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to increase the unconstitutional influence of the Crown." These motions, though supported by so much ability in the proposer, were all of them rejected by considerable majorities. The remaining clauses of Mr Burke's bill met with the same fate, as did every other motion on the popular side, till the business was interrupted by the Protestant Association, and the extraordinary behaviour of Lord George Gordon already related. By this, a forced recess of Parliament took place from the 8th to the 19th of June, it being judged improper to meet while the cities of London and Westminster were under martial law. The meeting on this day was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the recent outrages were taken notice of in a proper manner, and addresses in answer were voted without any opposition. Next day, the subject of the petitions, praying for a repeal of the bill in favour of the Catholics, which had occasioned so much mischief, was taken into consideration; but no repeal was proposed. Some resolutions for quieting the minds of the people were suggested by Lord Beauchamp, and a bill passed the House of Commons for affording satisfaction to those who had been misled into a belief of the protestant religion being in danger. The purport of it was, That the church should be secured from any encroachments of Popery, by more effectually restraining Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, from teaching or taking upon themselves the education or government of the

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Prorogati-  
on, July 8.

children of Protestants. This bill became the subject of considerable debates in the House of Lords, but was at last judged by the majority to be unnecessary, and that it would have too much the appearance of being forced upon them. In order to set it aside, therefore, without any direct negative, it was proposed, after the third reading, to delay the final consideration of it to that day week, during which time it was known, that a prorogation of Parliament would take place. This accordingly happened four days after, on the 8th of July, when the minister had the satisfaction of still seeing his authority prevail over an Opposition unequalled in the history of the British Parliament. The House of Commons had, indeed, by their conduct in the month of April, brought upon themselves a disgrace, and character of inconsistency, never to be effaced; but the Lords had been more consistent, and uniformly carried through every question of administration. Both were, however, equally applauded in the speech from the throne, for their perseverance and magnanimity in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war, by which his Majesty had been enabled to make such exertions, as he trusted would disappoint the violent and unjust designs of his enemies, and bring them to listen to equitable and honourable terms of peace. These exertions had already been attended with success by sea and land; and the late prosperous and important turn of affairs in North America (the capture of Charlestown and the subsequent successes) afforded the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of the colonies, and of their happy re-union with their parent country. The main purport of the speech, however, seemed to lie in the concluding-part, where both Lords and Commons were earnestly called upon to assist his Majesty by their influence and authority in their several counties, to guard the peace of the country from future disturbances, and to watch over the preservation of the public safety. To make the people sensible of the happiness they enjoyed, and the distinguished advantages they derived from our excellent constitution in Church and State; to warn them of the hazard of innovation; to point out the fatal consequences of such disturbances as had lately happened; and to impress their minds with this important truth, That rebellious insurrections to resist or reform the laws, must either end in the destruction of the person who makes the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy constitution.

Notwithstanding so much applause, however, it was now determined that this Parliament should exist no longer. Administration had met with an opposition never to be forgiven, and that their power might now be established on a more sure foundation, the greatest terror was pretended of any meeting of the people, however peaceable or well disposed they might profess themselves to be. It was whispered, and industriously circulated, that the leaders of Opposition were the secret authors of the late riots—that they had formed a plot for the entire subversion of the constitution—that persons of rank and condition had been disguised among the mob, and were their real leaders—and that the most astonishing discoveries would be made on the trial of those unhappy persons who had been concerned in the late riots. So great was the terror and credulity now generally prevalent in the metropolis, that these improbable reports were swallowed with avidity. It was generally believed, that a nobleman, of one of the first and most ancient families in the kingdom, Lord Effingham, had been killed among the mob, and his body thrown into the river, over Blackfriar's Bridge, to prevent a discovery; nor was this report effaced until he returned to take his seat in Parliament the succeeding winter.

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Dissolution of Parliament resolved on.

The minds of people being thus prepared, administration next ventured on a scheme, of all others the most dangerous to the liberties of the kingdom. This was, to expatiate on the wretched timidity and pusillanimous behaviour of the magistrates during the late commotions, and from thence to shew the inefficacy, in all cases, of the civil power to afford protection, and the necessity of a military force for preserving order and good government. This was quickly followed, by an order for the military power throughout the kingdom, to act independently of the civil magistrate, and without even consulting him in all cases of riot. While by this manœuvre the liberties of the nation were for a time extinguished, it is no wonder to find, that the dissolution of a Parliament, obnoxious on account of its temporary revolt, should be resolved on. There was, indeed, every reason to expect, that in the present state of things, the elections would go very much in favour of the court; and a dissolution was determined upon, though the design was concealed with the utmost care as long as possible.

Military power allowed to act independent of the civil magistrate

During this interval, however, the spirit of the people had revived; the terror occasioned by the riots had subsided, and their attention was in a great measure

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Resolutions of  
Yorkshire  
Committee.  
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drawn to those dangerous manœuvres of the court already mentioned. To prevent the mischievous effects apprehended from them, associations were formed in the metropolis and elsewhere; the inhabitants purchased arms, and acquired such a degree of knowledge in their exercise and use, as might be necessary, on all occasions, to prevent any necessity of the intervention of the army in case of any public disturbance. This spirit diffused itself pretty generally, and the measures of providing arms, and being at all times ready to support the civil authority, were held out as matters of constitutional duty and necessity. Nor was the affair of petitioning entirely dropped. On the 2d of August, a numerous meeting of the Yorkshire Committee of Association came to several very spirited resolutions on the subject; particularly, they entered into a kind of protestation against the interference of the military, in the suppression of riots, not under the direction of the civil magistrate, but at the discretion of the commanding officer; and that, however the order for the discretionary interference of the military in the suppression of the late riots in the metropolis might have been unavoidable, through the greatness of the danger, and the timidity of the magistracy; yet the extension of similar orders to the army in other parts of the kingdom, where no such danger existed, and where no reluctance in the magistracy to the performance of their duty appeared, or was suspected, could not be defended. These resolutions were adopted verbatim by the county of Middlesex, and soon after by the city of London, excepting only that which seemed to reflect on the magistracy of the city. But the county of Huntingdon went farther. They instructed their representatives to make an inquiry in Parliament, by whose advice the orders issued to the military in the metropolis had been extended to various parts of the kingdom, and so long continued, contrary to the common course of law; and that they should take such steps as were best suited to prevent any such dangerous and unconstitutional orders from being issued in time to come. Another resolution was expressed in the following words:—"That it be recommended to every housekeeper to have proper arms, such as musket and bayonet, and to be ready and expert in the use of them; to be prepared against all emergencies that may arise from any attack of our many surrounding enemies, or any invasion of our rights and liberties."

In a little time the attention of the whole nation seemed

to be as much engaged as formerly in attempting to procure redress of those grievances which had been formerly laid before Parliament. The Devonshire Committee for this purpose said, that they found themselves under a necessity of declaring, that "instead of proceeding to the reform prayed for in the petitions, the very influence complained of was exerted, either to reject in the first instance, or to baffle in its progress, every proposition that was offered to the consideration of Parliament for affecting the ends proposed."

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Such was the state of matters when the proclamation for dissolving the Parliament was issued on the 1st of September; and which was the more unexpected, as a new prorogation had taken place only a few days before. The shortness of the time appointed for the elections proved very favourable to the court party, and 113 new members were thus introduced. Little expence was bestowed in canvassing for seats. Many of the old members were disgusted with the long and fruitless Opposition they had gone through, and therefore wished to retire from service; others despised the venality of the electors, and looked upon public affairs as no longer worth the trouble of contending about. They now peevishly said, that whatever small degree of public virtue and spirit still remained among the people was entirely evaporated in words; and, whenever the touchstone was applied, their venality would not only appear predominant, but to be their only principle.

A little before the meeting of Parliament, six new Peers were created, viz. Lord Gage, Hon. James Brudenell, Sir William de Grey, Sir William Bagot, Hon. Charles Fitzroy, and Henry Herbert, Esq.—The Earl of Carlisle was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Grantham succeeded him at the head of the Board of Trade.

The Parliament met on the 31st of October, when their first business was the choice of a Speaker. The great merit and faithful services of Sir Fletcher Norton were totally obliterated by the quarrel he had with the minister, as has been already mentioned, and another Speaker was determined upon. The business, however, was introduced with the highest compliments to the late Speaker, and the choice of another was proposed on account of the importance of parliamentary business, which might be productive of debates inconsistent with his precarious state of health to attend upon; on which account the American Secretary (Lord George Germaine) moved for Mr Wolfran Cornwall, cr.

New  
Peers.  
Parlia-  
ment  
meets.  
Oct. 31.

Debates  
on the  
choice  
of a speak-  
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a gentleman eminently endued with all the qualifications necessary for fulfilling the duties of that high office with no less honour to himself than advantage to the House; and the motion was seconded by Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The members in Opposition now expressed the utmost astonishment, not only at the conduct of administration in proposing a new Speaker, at the very time that they acknowledged Sir Fletcher Norton to be the most proper of all men to fill the office, but at the strange arguments made use of on the occasion. The health of the Speaker was now so firmly established, that the pretence of his want of it, especially when coming from the ministerial side, must be considered as an absolute mockery of the House, and a direct insult upon the gentleman himself. Mr Dunning therefore proposed, that Sir Fletcher Norton should be continued Speaker, and his motion was seconded by Mr Thomas Townshend. The late Speaker, however, declined the intended honour, and said, that he had come to the House with a full resolution not to stand a candidate for the chair upon any account; but he declared that he must be an idiot, indeed, if he could believe, that his state of health was the reason of the determination of ministry against his being continued in the chair, and gave such reasons for his opinion, that he said it must be an insult on the understanding of every gentleman in the house to pretend, that an anxiety for his health was the real cause for moving another Speaker; and he concluded with asking, why he was so disgracefully dismissed?

Mr Rigby's objections to Sir F. Norton.

This brought out a long debate, in which only one gentleman, Mr Rigby, directly brought any charge against the late Speaker. He boldly declared, that he had objections to him on more accounts than one; particularly, because of his conduct in the year 1777, when he made that celebrated speech to the king, which had been made mention of with so much applause and even triumph by Opposition. He had at that time strongly expressed his disapprobation both of the speech, and the vote of thanks which had followed it, and which had been read with such triumph in the present debate. He now thought, as he formerly did, that the Speaker went too far; that he was not warranted to make such a speech to the throne; and that he thought it was flying into the king's face. He laughed at what had been thrown out, of the secret influence of the throne, and unknown reasons for the choice of a new Speaker;

and concluded by telling Opposition, that the reason of their extreme attachment to Sir Fletcher Norton, as well as that of the opposite side of the House to Mr Cornwall, was, in plain English no more than this: "We will vote for you, if you will be for us."—The debate being closed, Mr Cornwall's election was carried by 203 to 134.

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Mr Cornwall elected Speaker.

Next day, November 1st, the new Speaker was introduced to the throne, at the head of the House, where he was extremely well received. The King's speech, which immediately succeeded, announced the greatest satisfaction at meeting the Parliament at a time when the late elections afforded an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of the people, to which his Majesty was always inclined to pay the greatest regard. It then set forth the arduous situation of public affairs, with the formidable combination at that time existing against Great Britain. It was acknowledged, that the force granted by last Parliament, had, by the divine blessing, succeeded in resisting the formidable attempts of our enemies, and in frustrating the great expectations which they had formed. The signal successes in the southern Colonies were held out to view, and an honourable and lasting peace set forth as the probable consequence. The Commons were informed, that his Majesty saw, and felt with concern, that the various services of the war must be attended with great and heavy expences; but they were desired to grant such supplies only as their own security, and the exigency of affairs should seem to require. An address was instantly proposed by Mr de Grey, and seconded by Sir Richard Sutton, adopting, as usual, all the assertions contained in the speech: but an amendment was moved by Mr Grenville, proposing to leave out the whole, except the complimentary part, and to insert in its room the following words, That, "in this arduous conjuncture, we are determined to unite our efforts for the defence of this our country; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will decline no difficulty or hazard in preserving the essential interests of this kingdom."

King's speech.

Debates on the address.

The present debate necessarily involved the old question on the support of the American war, for which the ministry now supposed themselves furnished with new and invincible arguments. Our affairs in that quarter were said to be in a much better train than they had been since the convention of Saratoga. The splendid success of Lord Cornwallis in the southern Co-

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lonies had enhanced the reputation of the British arms, and in the highest degree intimidated our enemies. Carolina was entirely reduced to obedience, and the numerous friends to Great Britain in that country no longer feared to avow their sentiments. It was no longer a question of allegiance and independency betwixt us and our Colonies, but whether we would relinquish those valuable provinces to the House of Bourbon. No lover of his country could hesitate for a moment, in opposing to the last such an accession of strength to our natural enemy; and no friend of America could wish that we should resign her to the yoke of an arbitrary sovereign. Nothing could be a greater mistake than to suppose that the war was now carried on with a design to conquer America. The fact was directly otherwise; and the war was now carried on with a view to protect those numerous friends which Britain had in that country from the tyranny of the American Congress. It would not now be insisted, that America was to be regained by conquest; but it was still to be hoped, that she was to be regained by this country. The just and liberal offers made by Great Britain to America had produced very great and general effects upon the minds of the people; and it was not to be doubted, that more than half the Americans were friends to the British Government. Our late signal successes operating upon a people so disposed, could not fail to produce the happiest effects; and as we had now seen and corrected our errors, so the prevalence of reason over passion must operate equally on the Americans, and prevent their being far behind us; especially as occasion must be continually given for contrasting the happiness which they enjoyed under our mild government with the tyranny of their own rulers, and of feeling more and more odious and disgraceful dependence on France.

It was also contended, That our situation precluded every idea of honourable peace, except through the medium of victory; that the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour, until it might be terminated on better and more honourable grounds than at present, was essential to the political existence of Great Britain; and, in a word, that we must humble France through America—that if we even submitted to the disgraceful and humiliating measure of acknowledging the independence of America, still that fatal concession would expose us to the probable loss of all our transmarine possessions, and sink the political consequence of



this kingdom to nothing in the scale of Europe; nor would it even accelerate the work of peace, however earnestly that event might be desired. America was a new state, and she must maintain or establish her public character. She was bound by every tie of policy, as well as honour, not to desert her allies, or to leave them exposed to our collected efforts in a war undertaken for her advantage. But were it otherwise, she was now too closely connected with France, as well as too dependent on that power, to be able to enter separately into any treaty with Great Britain.—Our situation, it was owned, was arduous and difficult; but there was no reason to despair. The heterogeneous confederacy formed against us, although undoubtedly very powerful, was not by any means so tremendous as was commonly represented. Besides the other principles of disunion common to all great confederacies, this was composed of powers the most unlikely to agree, if not incapable of coalescing. The Spaniards had a natural and invincible prejudice against the French; and it could never be supposed or believed, that the Protestant republicans of North America, who were more zealously attached to their religious and political principles than perhaps any other civilized people, and who were even fighting against their own parent country and nearest connections for liberty, would ever enter into a cordial friendship and lasting union with a Roman Catholic power, which, having enslaved its own people, would not even allow the word *liberty* a place in its dictionaries. We should therefore strike boldly at the whole confederacy, and not at this or that particular part, until, by the vigour of our efforts, and the discordance of its own parts, the whole fabric was shaken to pieces.

All these arguments were treated by Opposition with the utmost contempt. Every year, they said, had afforded a new reason for the continuance of the American war. By vain and empty delusions we had been led on, year after year, to continue this ruinous war, in despite of every calamity, loss, danger, and disgrace. Even at this time, the infatuation of ministry was as strong as ever, and they seemed to think the Parliament equally blind with themselves. But whatever effect ministerial arts had formerly produced on the opinions and dispositions of the people, their universal cry now was for peace with America, and vigorous war with our other enemies; and it remained to be seen whether the ministers had yet influence enough in the House to

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**C H A P.** enable them to carry on their American war to the en-  
**XXVI.** tire ruin, and contrary to the exprefs sense of the  
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With regard to the prosperous situation of our affairs on the continent of America, it was affirmed, that similar language had been held out on every gleam of success ever since the commencement of the war. It was true, indeed, that our successes had at some times been glorious and splendid, and our troops had on all occasions gained great honour ; but it was doubtful whether we had been any real gainers by these advantages. Boston was, in the beginning of the war, exchanged for New York. The reduction of that city, the victory at Long Island, at Brandy Wine, and the taking of Philadelphia, the capital of America, were each of them, in their day, held out as objects of the greatest triumph, and leading to successes still more splendid, and which must necessarily decide the fate of the continent. When these consequences were found not to take place, another source of confidence was opened in the exchange of Rhode Island, the best winter harbour in all North America, for Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. People conversant in these matters might determine on which side the advantage lay ; but the glorious victory at Camden, it seemed, was now to make up for all disadvantages, and to revive all our former illusive hopes. But if our judgment was to be founded on experience and analogy, we ought rather to consider this as the forerunner of some grievous disaster. What could be more splendid or flattering than the success at Ticonderoga, which was soon followed by the loss of a whole army ? Was there any reason to expect that the present success might not soon be followed by a similar disaster ? The consequence of our success at Charlestown was the laying Lord Cornwallis under the necessity of putting all to the hazard by encountering a vast superiority of force at Camden. The merit of his success must rest with himself ; but what was to be expected from those conductors of the war, who laid him under such a dangerous necessity, that his victory might be accounted a miracle ? There was likewise a circumstance attending this victory which afforded a direct proof that the majority of the Americans were not so friendly to this country, as had so frequently, and with such confidence, been reported by ministry. So far from this, they were almost universally attached to the cause of Congress ; for no sooner had General Gates appeared in Carolina, than those very people flocked to

his standard who had already taken oaths to the British government, carrying with them even the arms which had been put into their hands by our general, which reduced him to the unhappy necessity of putting to death such of them as fell into his hands.

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Great advantages, indeed, they owned, might be derived from the victories we had gained. They might be made the foundation of an honourable and happy peace. Ministers ought, therefore, without loss of time, to seize the occasion: but, instead of this, the speech from the Throne, with its echo, the address, shewed that they were still determined to carry on the war to the utmost. It was the popularity of this war, they said, and that only, by which ministers held their places. On this principle they raised new regiments, and sent them, under inexperienced officers, to perish by wholesale in the West India service; whilst those hardy veterans, who were proof against climates and every kind of service, were kept in America. After controverting the assertion of ministry, that no separate peace could be made with America, they asked, What would be the consequence of withdrawing the troops from America? American independence undoubtedly. Would this be a method of obtaining peace? It could not be denied.—Could the troops subdue America if they staid there? It was not even hoped or pretended.—Could the American war be given up without her being independent? Certainly not.—Could peace be obtained without allowing independence to America? The ministers well knew it could not.—If these things were so, and it was evident they could not be controverted, then, said Opposition, it is plain the ministers are wasting the blood and treasure of this country without any object.

Besides all this, the Opposition insisted, that our affairs were in a situation infinitely worse than even at the Convention of Saratoga. Without wasting time, they said, on the comparative value of posts, are we not more than forty millions worse, through the mere expences of the war, since that period? And has not the failure of our commerce, and the exhausting of our resources, increased in proportion? Ever since the affair of Trenton, it had been known to all military men, that every attempt to subdue America was only a prostitution of so much blood and treasure, as the matter was altogether impracticable. Instead of pledging themselves blindly to his Majesty for the continuance of a ruinous war, they ought to declare, that they would afford every support to his arms against the House of Bourbon. Let that House

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Besides these arguments against the continuance of the American war, Mr Fox particularly reprobated the system of martial law which had been established throughout the kingdom. It was a mockery, he said, to talk of obtaining the sense of the people through the medium of the elections, when it was universally known, that these elections were not free; and he reproved, in the most pointed terms, the ministry, for having dared to send orders to officers, in all the towns throughout the kingdom, as well in those where there had been no proneness to tumult as where there had, for the military to act at their own discretion, without any direction from the civil power. These orders, he said, had not been recalled, till almost every election was over; and he represented it as a most alarming violence to the constitution, and a measure which called loudly for parliamentary injury. He likewise arraigned the conduct of ministers, in terms of the utmost severity, for their appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital.

These arguments of Opposition were still insufficient to gain their point. The address, without any amendment, was carried by 212 to 130; and a similar one in the House of Lords by 68 to 23.—In the Committee of Supply 91,000 seamen, including marines, were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

Thanks of the House presented to Sir Fletcher Norton, &c. Nov. 20.

The thanks of the Commons were presented to Sir Fletcher Norton, though not without great opposition from the court party; and on this occasion, the minister himself, never deficient in complaisance, voted against his own friends. A few days after, the thanks of the House were likewise voted to Sir Henry Clinton, Earl Cornwallis, and Admiral Arbuthnot, for the very eminent services performed by them; particularly the reduction of Charlestown, and the glorious victory at Camden.

Reflections on Admiral Keppel, &c. by Sir Hugh Palliser.

The appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the Government of Greenwich Hospital produced long and violent debates; but as personal resentment seemed to have a greater share in these than love for the public good, we shall here only take notice, that the affair ended in a bitter accusation by Sir Hugh himself, of the conduct of Admiral Keppel, the Opposition in general, and particularly the court martial by which Admiral Keppel had been tried. On this a motion was made by Sir Robert Smith, and seconded by the Earl of Surrey, for an in-

quiry into the conduct of the two courts martial; which, he said, was desired merely for the sake of justice, and without any intention of retrospect into matters which had already produced so much mischief. As ministers, however, had, by bringing forward the Vice-admiral, given occasion for reverting to past transactions, he thought the whole should be fully inquired into; at the same time declaring, that he should govern himself entirely by what appeared to him to be the truth, when the business was sifted to the bottom. If it should appear, that the court martial was warranted in pronouncing the sentence which they had passed, he should then give his vote for passing a censure on the Vice-admiral, who had thus publicly arraigned their justice. If, on the other hand, it should come out, that the Vice-admiral's complaints were well founded, and that the court martial had denied him justice, he should support any proceeding against the members of that court which the House should propose to adopt.

But though this motion was, in appearance, agreed to, such methods were adopted by the minister as at last rendered it totally ineffectual. The affair which had been debated before the recess, was introduced by Mr Fox in the beginning of February, and his motion was to the following purpose: "That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital, after he had been declared guilty of having preferred a malicious and ill founded accusation against his commanding officer by the sentence of a court martial, was a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy." This the minister evaded, by asserting, that these words were an extrajudicial opinion—that the Vice-admiral had never been tried on any such charge—that he had been most honourably acquitted by the court martial which afterwards tried him; for which reason, he moved an amendment, and at length, by the assistance of the Solicitor-General, the motion was moulded into the following form—"That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital, who by the officers who sat on the court martial held for the trial of Admiral Keppel, and before whom Sir Hugh Palliser was not charged with any malice in the accusation of the said Admiral, or heard in his defence, is declared to have preferred an ill-founded accusation against his Commander in Chief; and whose conduct on the 27th of July 1778, by a subsequent court martial, was, after a full examination, declared to be in many

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respects highly exemplary and meritorious; and who has, during the course of forty-five years, served the Crown, both in his civil and military capacity, with great ability, bravery, and fidelity, was a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy." This motion, thus amended, after violent debates, was carried by a majority of 214 to 149. Mr Fox proposed a long amendment to the amended motion, of which the minister got clear, by moving for the order of the day, and thus the affair terminated.

Previous to the inquiry, the subject of the Dutch war had been canvassed, and, after much fruitless altercation, had terminated, as we have seen, in an open rupture with that power. The affairs of India next engrossed the attention of the House, of which an account shall afterwards be given.—These being discussed, Mr Burke made a second attempt to introduce his establishment bill; but though it was supported with all the powers of eloquence by Mr William Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, and by the young Lord Maitland, the weight of ministerial influence was still too great to be resisted, and the second reading was rejected by 233 to 190.

On the  
loan for  
the year,  
March 7.

The next object of discussion was, the loan for the year, of twelve millions which the minister had bargained for, on terms so advantageous to the lenders, that the price of the new stock rose at market from 9 to 10 *per cent.* above par. This drew upon him the utmost vengeance of Mr Fox, who contended, that the money might have been obtained upon much better terms. The loss of the money, however, was, comparatively speaking, but a small part of the evil. The loan was still more dangerous in a political view; as the profits, according to his calculation, under every probable contingency, would amount to near a million; which great sum, he said, was entirely at the disposal, and in the hands of the minister, to be granted as douceurs to the members of the House, whether as compensations for the expences of their elections, or for whatever other purpose of corrupt influence might best suit his views. Thus the attempt made by Mr Burke to restrain undue influence, by controuling the civil-list expenditure, would have been of little avail, even if it had succeeded, when a sum, equal to that whole revenue, was to be annually thrown into the hands of the minister, to be applied to the worst and most dangerous of all purposes, that of procuring and preserving a constant majority in the House of Commons upon every

question ; and thereby affording support and efficacy to all the views and designs of administration however pernicious or ruinous, and without the possibility of parliamentary redress to the public. The lottery clause he particularly objected to, as the most pernicious and destructive of all species of gaining ; as immediately affecting the morals, habits, and circumstances of the lower orders of the people ; and which, upon every principal of policy, ought to be carefully avoided. He therefore moved, as an amendment to the minister's motion, for agreeing to the terms of the loan, that the latter clause, respecting the lottery, should be omitted.

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On the other hand, the minister defended himself on the plea of necessity, and positively asserted, that the money could not have been obtained on easier conditions. He utterly refused the idea of the loan being any source of influence whatever ; and as to the interest which the minister might be supposed to derive from it, he said, it must be but a very poor compensation for the great fatigue and trouble of mind occasioned by such a burthen ; and he had full conviction, that no business could be more disagreeable. He requested gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of their refusing to accede to the propositions agreed on. The attention paid by monied men to the Treasury would be lessened ; and if it were usual for the House to settle and alter the terms, they must go farther, and conduct the business, and make the bargain themselves. That argument certainly would not go to the support of any thing materially wrong. In that case, the House ought to interfere : but unless the objections were very material, which he trusted they would not be, he left gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of refusing to accede to the propositions which had been agreed on. With respect to the lottery, he said, it was a favourite part of every douceur with all money-lenders ; it was an encouragement and advantage to them, without any expence to government ; on the contrary, 480,000 l. was paid in, and remained without interest for the greater part of the year.

Mr Fox's amendment was rejected on a division by 169 to 111 ; but the business was taken up by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, who arraigned, in the most bitter terms, the bargain made by the minister, which, he said, was become the subject of complaint, and conversation in all places. He should therefore move for recommitting the report, in order that the House might amend the terms, and prevent so shameful and extrava-

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giant a prostitution of public money. The distribution of the loan had been conducted with scandalous partiality. Instead of being distributed among men of known character and reputation, who had been always the supporters of government, it had been thrown into the hands of the minister's creatures or friends; and he was well informed, that the favoured contractor (Mr Aitkinson) had no less than 3,300,000 l. of the loan assigned to his share, or at least at his disposal.

Sir Philip was seconded in his attack by Sir George Saville, Mr Burke, Mr Fox, Mr Byng, and some other gentlemen, who besides reprobating the loan in all its parts and circumstances, insisted that the House was not in any manner of way bound to fulfil the conditions; and they affirmed, that nothing could be more detrimental to the national credit, than the attempt of the ministers to turn the Parliament of Great Britain into a court of regency, which was to have no other concern with taxes and loans than to give an official sanction to their bargains.

The minister defended himself by retorting the charge of injuring the national credit upon those who wished to make a new bargain for the public. He maintained, that no immediate saving could counterbalance the shock which this would give to the credit of Parliament. He denied, that Mr Aitkinson could have any such enormous share as was attributed to him; and said, he would venture to undergo any censure the House should impose, if it were found to be a fact.—At last, on a division, the lottery was confirmed by 133 to 80.

March 12. Another and more violent attack was now made upon this unfortunate loan by Mr Byng, who had been at the utmost pains to trace the matter to the bottom. He, therefore, moved, "That a list of all the subscribers to the new loan, specifying also the sums subscribed by each, should be laid before the House." But, as this alone would not be sufficient to bring out the necessary information, he intended to follow it with two others, viz. "To lay before the House a correct list of all those persons who had offered to become subscribers to the new loan, but whose offers had been rejected, specifying the particular sums they had offered to subscribe." A third was for "the copies of all letters, notes, or other papers, that had been sent to the minister, his secretaries, the Commissioners of the Treasury, or any other persons, from whose hands they were transmitted to him, conveying an application or



proposals for any part of the loan." The reasons which induced him to make these motions were to shew, that the money might have been borrowed at 5 per cent.—that the Minister was offered the immense sum of 38 millions, and consequently was under no necessity to hurry on the bargain in such a precipitate manner—that these proposals were made by wealthy and substantial men, fully able to support their pretensions, but whose proposals were rejected with contempt—and that it was evident the new loan could be made with no other view than of corrupt influence.

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From this dangerous attack the minister defended himself by assenting to the first motion, treating the second as useless, and the third as unfair and improper. The House, of consequence, agreed to the first; rejected the second upon a division; and the third without any. In the House of Lords, however, the loan did not escape the most severe animadversion from the Marquis of Rockingham. It had met with such extraordinary opposition, in all its stages, in the House of Commons, that it had been hurried up with great dispatch from thence to the House of Lords, and that without going through all the customary forms. The Marquis, therefore, slightly touching upon this irregular proceeding, directed his objections immediately against the substance of the bill. After largely insisting upon the topics which had been so fully handled in the lower House, he concluded, that the minister had broken his faith with Parliament and the nation; that, though he should not put a negative on the bill, he thought himself called upon, as an act of duty, to testify his disapprobation of the loan, which, in a time of public calamity like the present, when the utmost economy was necessary, more particularly, he had wantonly and corruptly lavished about a million sterling; and that, in his opinion, merely for the purpose of influencing or bribing the representatives of the people in Parliament to give their countenance and support to the continuance of a most wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war.—To all this, however, the Lords in Administration did not think proper to make the smallest reply; and the bill was passed without further animadversion.

March 21.

The most important business which now took place, during the remainder of the session, related to the India affairs; an alteration proposed in the marriage act, in order to procure some relaxation in its severity, but which was negatived by a great majority; with some ineffectual proposals for making peace with America.

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Recess,  
July 18.

On the 18th of July 1781 an end was put to this long session. The speech contained the usual congratulations, and expressed the usual hopes of bringing back the deluded Americans to a sense of their duty;—expressions now used for the last time to the Parliament of Britain; for, before the next session, the fatal disaster of Lord Cornwallis had finally decided the matter in favour of the colonies.

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*Military operations in Carolina—St Eustatius, Demerary, and Iſſequibo, retaken by the French—Likewiſe St Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Mountſerrat—Engagements between de Graſſe and Sir Samuel Hood—Attempt on Jamaica—De Graſſe completely defeated by Rodney—Attempt on Jerſey—Convoy from St Euſtatius captured by Piquet—Commodore Johnſtone's engagement with Suffrein—Dutch ſhips taken at Saldanha—M. de la Motte hanged for a ſpy—Engagement between Sir Peter Parker and the Dutch fleet.*

THE departure of Lord Cornwallis from Carolina had, as we have formerly ſeen, occaſioned great difficulties to the Britiſh army there; which, though they had continued to oppoſe them with unremitting patience, as well as the moſt obſtinate efforts of valour, had ſtill proved too great to be ſurmounted. In the beginning of September 1781, General Greene having received ſuch reinforcements as he judged ſufficient to enable him to act on the offensive, his army now amounting to about 4000 men, determined to invade that part of the province which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the Britiſh, and to drive them entirely out of the country. With this view he marched from the high hills of Santee, to paſs Congare River and attack Colonel Stewart, who commanded the Britiſh forces, and whoſe troops, only about 2000 men, were at that time ſickly, and their proviſions ſcarce. In order to ſave a convoy, which was on its way to join them, the Britiſh commander retired about 40 miles to a place called Eutaw ſprings, about

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operations  
in Caroli-  
na

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Battle of  
Eutaw  
Springs,  
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60 miles north of Charlestown. Here a most obstinate battle ensued, from nine in the morning to one in the afternoon. Both sides claimed the victory; and the accounts of the British and American commanders were so totally different, that it was impossible to find out the truth. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, by their own account, amounted to between 500 and 600; one lieutenant colonel, one major, six captains, and eight other commissioned officers, were killed; five lieutenant-colonels, 13 captains, and 25 lieutenants, wounded. Colonel Washington was taken prisoner. On our side, three commissioned officers, and 85 privates, were killed; and 16 officers, and 351 privates, wounded, and 257 missing. Colonel Stewart himself was wounded. All the British officers behaved with the utmost gallantry; and circumstances, upon the whole, afforded them fair ground whereon to rest their claim of victory. The consequences, however, to the British were those of a defeat; as the country in the neighbourhood of Charlestown, which, for a considerable time, had remained in peace, was become the scene of a cruel and desultory war, in which, except the design of straitening the capital, the only other objects seem to have been the obtaining plunder, provisions, or the gratification of the mutual animosities of both parties.

French re-  
take St  
Eustatius.

Towards the close of the year 1781, the island of St. Eustatius was surprised by the Marquis de Bouille. Two thousand men were embarked on the enterprise; but, by reason of the difficulty of the landing-place, though left open and unguarded, a great number perished, and the boats which carried them were destroyed. Only 400 could be landed by his utmost efforts of perseverance and courage; and he then saw himself cut off from every assistance from his ships, as well as from every means of retreat. The garrison, consisting of the 13th and 15th regiments, was, besides, almost double in number to the troops he had been able to land; and his danger was increased by the difficult road for two miles from the landing-place to the fort, intersected by a defile in the hills, where an army might have been stopped by a very small number. In this dangerous situation, the French commander placed a full confidence in the probability of surprising his enemy. His troops were the best in France, being principally composed of the Count Dillon's regiment, and a part of the Irish brigade in the

French service, and whose red uniform contributed greatly to facilitate the enterprise.

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The French troops arrived at their place of destination on the 26th of November, about sunrise. A division of the garrison were going through their exercises in an adjacent field; the greater part were dispersed in quarters in the houses of the town, and a number probably in bed. They were first informed of their danger, by a volley of shot fired almost at their breasts. Several being killed by this fire, the rest fled in the utmost confusion, and so clogged up the drawbridge that it could not be drawn up until the enemy entered with them. Thus the fort was lost in a moment; and Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn, the governor, who had been taking an early ride, happening to return at this unfortunate moment, was made prisoner on horseback. The Marquis de Bouille behaved with that generosity which had all along marked his character. A considerable sum of money which the governor claimed as his property, was, with the consent of the officers, restored to him. A very large sum, however, being a remainder of the produce of the late sales, and said to be the property of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, became a prize to the victors. Their whole spoil was estimated at two millions of livres.

The loss of St Eustatius was only a prelude to farther misfortunes in the West Indies. The superiority of the French by sea and land enabled them to attack the rest of the British settlements with every advantage. In the month of January 1782, they retook the Dutch settlements of Demarary and Isequoibo; while France, by restoring them to Holland, had an opportunity of shewing her fidelity to her ally, as well as an appearance of disinterestedness for which she had been by no means remarkable in former times.

Demarary  
and Ise-  
quoibo re-  
duced by  
the French.  
Likewise  
St Christo-  
pher's.  
Jan. 11.

The island of St Christopher's was next reduced. On the 11th of January 1782, the Marquis de Bouille landed with 8000 men on the island, and was supported by the Count de Grasse with 32 ships of the line. The garrison under General Frazer did not exceed 600 men, and the great force of the enemy, notwithstanding a dangerous surf which then prevailed, rendered all resistance to their landing ineffectual. General Frazer, the governor, with his small garrison, retired to Brimstone Hill, reckoned one of the strongest posts in the West Indies, though his troops were insufficient to gar-  
rison it, and 2000 men were thought necessary to have defended it properly. The attack had been originally

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designed on Barbadoes, where the great superiority of the French fleet had given hopes to their commander of not only reducing the island, but destroying the English fleet, which, to the number of 22 sail of the line, rode at that time in Carlisle Bay. De Grasse, however, had been prevented by contrary winds from putting this scheme in execution, and he was driven by them so far to leeward, that St Christopher's became the object of his enterprize. Sir Samuel Hood, however, the British admiral, far from being intimidated at the superiority of his enemy, determined to come out to sea in order to fight him. He accordingly sailed from Barbadoes to Antigua, where he took on board General Prescott, with the few soldiers who could be spared, and thence proceeding to Basse Terre Road, where the enemy lay at anchor, began at day-break to form his line of battle in order to attack them.

Manœuvres and engagements between De Grasse and Sir S. Hood.  
Jan. 25.

This bold design was frustrated by two ships accidentally running foul of each other, so that the fleet was obliged to lie by for a day to repair their damages, during which time, a French frigate, from Martinico, full of shells and ordnance stores, for the siege of Brimstone Hill, fell into their hands. De Grasse then thought proper to quit his anchorage and come out to sea, that, by having room to act, his fleet might derive all advantages from their superiority of number. The British admiral, perceiving the advantage to be derived from his movement, instantly pushed on for Basse Terre Road, and took possession of the anchorage ground which they had quitted on the preceding evening. If the superior judgment and seamanship displayed in this masterly movement excited the astonishment and chagrin of the enemy, a sense of its possible consequences, in cutting them off from all communication with their army on shore, afforded no small room for the most serious apprehensions. Impelled, therefore, by every motive, whether of defeating the design, or of avenging the deception, they fell with the utmost fury on Commodore Affleck, who commanded the rear of the British Squadron, and with no small hope of cutting off that division. But that gallant officer, and his two brave seconds, Lord Robert Manners and Captain Cornwallis, kept up so noble and unceasing a fire, that, with little loss or damage to themselves, they in a great measure covered the other ships of the division, while they were getting into their stations; and, after a sharp conflict, the French were obliged to bear off. Next morning by eight o'clock, the British line was at-

tacked from van to rear by the whole force of the enemy, who after an action of two hours, were obliged again to stand off to sea. Count de Grasse, however, not yet discouraged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, directing his attack principally against the centre and rear divisions, which he hoped to overwhelm by the great superiority of his force; but he was again repulsed with greater loss than before. His own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, suffered so much damage, that, in the seaman's phrase, she was obliged to be *becked*, having received no less than 84 shot in her hull. It was even said, that 1000 wounded men were sent from the French ships to St Eustatius, while the loss on the part of the British did not exceed 72 killed, and 244 wounded.

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But though the French found it impossible to dislodge the British fleet, the latter found it equally impossible to render any effectual service to their own force on shore. The people of the island were exceedingly discontented. They had disliked the American war from the beginning, and had been great sufferers by it. They were, besides, intimidated by the example of the inhabitants of Tobago, who had brought ruin upon themselves by the obstinacy of their defence. The horrors of a French government were lessened by the knowledge they had of the justice and generosity of temper inherent in the Marquis de Bouille, so that they resolved to stand neutral during the siege. About 350 of the militia, however, were led by General Shirley to reinforce General Frazer's small garrison at Brimstone Hill, and continued to the last to encounter all the dangers and hardships of the siege. Some misfortunes also befel the French, which threatened to put an end to their hopes at once. The powerful artillery, which they had deligned for the attack at Barbadoes, was sunk in attempting to land it at Sandy Hook; and soon after, the frigate, conveying the Ordnance stores from Martinico, was taken by the British fleet, as we have already mentioned. But these misfortunes were quickly repaired by the diligence of the commanders. Great part of the artillery which had been sunk near the shore was fished up; more was supplied by the men of war, and fresh quantities of stores brought from Martinico. They were likewise assisted by a strange piece of negligence on the part of the British. Eight brass 24 pounders, with 6000 balls proper for them, two 13 inch mortars, and 1500 shells, all of which had been sent out by government for the supply of the fortress, through some strange fatality had

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not been carried up to the fortrefs, but left at the foot of the hill, where they fell into the hands of the French, and were instantly turned against those whom they had been intended to assist. The post then occupied by the British is situated on the top of an hill, which rises on the sea-shore within a small distance of Sandy Point, the second town of the island, and about four leagues from Basse Terre, where the French landed, and which is reckoned the capital. The hill is naturally very strong, and the approaches to it difficult; the ascent being so steep, that with little artificial aid, it is capable of enabling a few men to resist the assault of a great number. The works and buildings at the top, however, were by no means of any strength sufficient to resist the heavy cannon and mortars now brought against them, and which the undisturbed possession of the neighbouring country enabled the enemy to plant in the most advantageous situations. An attempt was made on the part of the British to relieve the garrison, by landing General Prescott with the soldiers he had brought along with him, and another regiment which came with the fleet from Barbadoes, amounting in all to a body of 2400 men; but the general did not think it practicable, with such a small body of men, to maintain a post on the island. However, as he was sanguine in his desire of being put on shore with the troops, the measure was accordingly carried into execution. The French commander marched with about 4000 men to attack him; but, on considering the strength of his situation, thought proper to return without making any attempt; on which General Prescott, having no longer any object to gain by continuing on shore, returned the same evening to the fleet.

Jan. 28.

The Marquis de Bouille now pushed on the siege with the most unremitting assiduity, and so strictly guarded all the avenues, that no intelligence could be conveyed either to or from the besieged. An incessant cannonade and bombardment was kept up during three weeks; the whole force of 23 pieces of heavy cannon, and 24 large mortars, being directed against the fort, containing a space of ground not more than 200 yards in diameter; and new batteries were every moment ready to be opened. At last, all the houses and cover on the top of the hill being demolished, and the fortifications perpetually crumbling to dust before the irresistible force which assailed them, the governor thought proper to capitulate, rather than run the hazard of an assault, which could not, in the nature of things, but be

Feb. 23.



successful. The most honourable terms were granted by the conqueror; and, by a particular article, Governor Shirley and Brigadier General Frazer were discharged from being considered as prisoners of war, on account of their gallant behaviour during the siege.

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This misfortune happened in sight of the British fleet, without a possibility of their being able to afford any relief; nor was it now in their power even to continue longer in the road of Basse Terre; for the French had begun to raise batteries on shore which commanded part of the shipping, and threatened them with certain destruction. It was even a matter of some difficulty to change their present situation without danger, as the French fleet had been lately joined by two ships of the line, which gave them a most decided superiority over their enemies. However, by slipping their cables in the night, they put to sea without any obstruction or pursuit from the enemy.

The reduction of St Christopher's was followed by that of Nevis and Montserrat; so that of all our former numerous possessions in the West Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua now only remained. It was said, that the reduction of Brimstone Hill cost the French 2000 men.

Nevis and  
Montserrat  
retaken.

The greatest preparations were now made for an attack upon the island of Jamaica, which had been so long the object of desire to the Courts of both France and Spain. The latter had a powerful fleet, and a great body of land forces in the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. A junction was proposed betwixt the fleets of both nations, which now would have amounted to more than 60 ships of the line; and their land forces, if joined, would have formed a considerable army. Still, however, the high spirit of the inhabitants, though assisted only by six battalions of regulars, with the natural unwholesomeness of the climate, must have rendered the reduction of it a matter of great difficulty. But a much greater obstacle was the arrival of Sir George Rodney, with twelve ships of the line, at Barbadoes, on the 19th of February, and his junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron; by which reinforcement the British fleet was become an over-match for that under de Grasse. A reinforcement, indeed, had been sent out to the latter under Admiral de Guichen; but he had suffered so much in an engagement with Admiral Kempenfelt, and a continued succession of bad weather afterwards, that most of his squadron were obliged to return in a very shattered condition to France;

Intended  
attack on  
Jamaica  
frustrated.

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and only two were enabled to join the main fleet under de Grasse. The first object of Admiral Rodney, therefore, was to intercept a second convoy sent from France the 11th of February, with naval stores, artillery, and ammunition; but though he took such measures for this purpose as seemed to render an escape altogether impossible, the French had nevertheless the good fortune to elude the vigilance of their enemy, by creeping close to the shore of Guadaloupe and Dominica: so that

March 20. on the 20th of March 1782, they arrived safe at Fort Royal Bay, where they found de Grasse busy in repairing his ships, which he was now enabled to do in the most effectual manner. On this disappointment, Admiral Rodney retired to St Lucia, where he also employed himself in repairing his ships, taking in a large quantity of stores and provisions, and keeping a strict watch, by means of his frigates, on the motions of the enemy in Fort Royal Bay.

April 8. On the 8th of April, the French fleet began to leave the harbour at Fort Royal, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, with a design to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola, after which their numbers would have rendered them altogether superior to any attempt which the British fleet could have made against them. The design of the French commander, therefore, was thus to avoid an action for the present; while Sir George Rodney's business was by all means to force him to it, if possible, as the fleet under his command was now superior by two ships in number; and, notwithstanding the superior size and weight of metal of the enemy, the known excellency of the British in naval affairs left very little room to doubt the event. He, therefore, took such measures for watching the motions of de Grasse, that his departure from Fort Royal was known at St Lucia almost the moment it happened, and the fleets were in sight of each other that very night.

The British fleet at St Lucia amounted to 36 ships of the line. The force under M. de Grasse at Martinique only to 34. The French fleet, as usual, seems rather to have been over-manned; and had, besides their full complement of seamen, near 6000 land forces on board. The *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, De Grasse's own ship, had not less than 1300 men, including soldiers, on board; and the French seventy-fours carried 900 men each. Their metal too is always heavier than that of the English in equal rates. The English had five 90 gun ships, which was their highest rate; and the French had eight of 80

and 84 guns each, besides the *Ville de Paris*, which was considered as the pride and bulwark of their fleet. The van of the English was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Francis Drake; and, perhaps, a set of more brave and able officers could not have been found. The three divisions of the French fleet were led on by the Count de Grasse, M. de Vaudreuil, and M. de Bougainville, who were all distinguished commanders.

The French admiral had, on his departure from Martinico, determined to avoid, as much as possible, a fair and open chace; for which purpose he kept as close under the islands as he could, and was now under that of Dominica. Finding himself, however, now so sorely and unexpectedly pressed, he formed the line of battle to windward early in the morning of the 9th of April; April 9, thus affording an opportunity to his convoy to escape, while he remained to sustain the consequences; the English fleet in the mean time being becalmed under the high hills of Dominica.

In a short time the breeze having reached the British fleet, their van began to come up with the centre of the enemy, who instantly began a furious attack upon the foremost ships, with a view to overwhelm and destroy them by numbers. The attack was led by the *Royal Oak*, Captain Burnet, and seconded by the *Alfred* and *Montague*, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The *Barfleur*, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her at once. At length, and by degrees, the leading ships of the centre, followed by Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with the *Namur* and *Duke*, having come up to the assistance of the van, the fight was rendered less unequal. Upon which, the French admiral, notwithstanding his still great superiority, thought it necessary to take measures for preventing the battle from becoming decisive. This he was still enabled to do by having the command of the wind; and that sort of distant firing took place which had been so generally adopted by the French in their engagements during the present war. This mode of fighting, however, did not now answer the purpose of the French so well as formerly; their ships received much more damage than they gave, and two of them were so much disabled, that they were obliged to quit the fleet, and put into Guadeloupe; while the two

**CHAP. XXVII.** British ships which had suffered most, the *Royal Oak* and *Montague*, were still capable of being repaired, and rendered again fit for action at sea.

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Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the French commander had it yet in his power to come to a second action or not as he pleased, being still favoured by the wind, while the English admiral found his fleet entangled between the islands of *Dominica* and *Guadaloupe*, with a cluster of small ones called the *Saints*. Both fleets kept turning up against the wind in the channel which separates *Dominica* from *Guadaloupe*; and, by the 11th of April, the enemy had got to such a distance as to weather *Guadaloupe*, and to be only visible from the mast-heads of the British centre. All hope of coming up with them seemed, therefore, to be at an end, and it was even become a question whether the chase should be continued any longer or not, when two of the French ships, which had received the most damage, were perceived about noon to fall off considerably to leeward. The chase was resumed with such vigour, that the *Agamemnon*, and some of the foremost British ships, were coming up so fast, that the disabled Frenchmen must have been cut off from the rest before evening, had not *de Grasse* been induced by their signals of distress to bear down with the whole fleet to their assistance.—This movement brought matters precisely to the situation which had been so often wished for by the British commanders. A decisive engagement was now unavoidable: but as the evening was too far advanced for fighting, it was put off till next morning; both sides, in the mean time, preparing with the utmost resolution for the battle which was now to decide the fate of the *West Indies*.

*De Grasse* entirely defeated and taken prisoner by Sir George Rodney, April 12.

The engagement began about seven in the morning on the 12th of April 1782, and continued with the utmost fury till near the same hour in the evening; and as the fleets were so near, that every shot took place, the carnage on board the French ships, which in general were overmanned, was dreadful beyond expression. Sir George Rodney's ship, the *Formidable*, fired eighty broadsides, and many others were as warmly engaged. The French received this dreadful fire with the utmost gallantry, though, on account of the great numbers of men killed on board their ships, it must have been much more tremendous than aboard the British fleet.

About noon, Sir George Rodney, in the *Formidable*, supported by the *Namur*, *Duke*, and *Canada*, de-

cided the fortune of the day, by breaking through the French line near the centre, doubling upon the enemy, and throwing them into inextricable confusion. This was completed, by his throwing out a signal for the van to tack, which being instantly complied with, the wind was gained by the British fleet, and the affairs of the French rendered irretrievable; while the victory was rendered still more decisive, by the coming up of Sir Samuel Hood's Squadron, which had been long becalmed.

The broken state of the French fleet now afforded many opportunities for single combat, or even for two or three ships being engaged with one; and accordingly, instances of the most desperate valour were not wanting on both sides on that memorable day. In single combats, the *Canada* of 74 guns, Captain Cornwallis, took the *Hector* of the same force. Captain Inglefield, in the *Centaur* of 74 guns, attacked the *Cæsar*, likewise of 74. Both ships were as yet fresh and unhurt; but the Frenchman had evidently the worst of the engagement. Still, however, he denied to yield; and though three other ships successively came up, by whom his own was almost torn to pieces, he caused his colours to be nailed to the mast, and his death only put an end to the contest.—When the ship at last struck, her mast went overboard at that instant, and she had not a foot of canvas without a shot-hole.

The *Glorieux* likewise fought nobly; and did not strike until her masts, bowsprit, and ensign were shot away. The English *Ardent* of 64 guns, which had been taken in the beginning of the war near Plymouth, was now retaken by the *Belliqueux* or *Bedford*. The *Diadem*, a French 74, went down by a single broadside.

The French Admiral himself was nobly supported, even when the line was broken, until the confusion and defeat became irremediable towards evening. The *Ville de Paris*, the Admiral's ship, after being sorely battered, was closely laid alongside by the *Canada*, and in a desperate action of near two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French Admiral, that without taking possession of the *Hector*, he left her to be picked up by a frigate. De Grasse, however, seemed determined rather to sink than strike to any ship lower than that of an Admiral. Other ships came up close after the *Canada*, but he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood coming up in the *Barfleur*, almost at sun-set,

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poured in a most tremendous fire, which it is said to have killed sixty men outright; but M. de Grasse, willing to signalize as much as possible the loss of so fine a ship, endured the repetition of this for a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, at which time, it is said, there were only three men alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that De Grasse himself was one of the three.

In the night of the action, the *Cæsar*, one of the best ships in the French fleet, took fire and blew up. An English Lieutenant and 50 English seamen, with about 400 prisoners, perished in the flames. The accident was occasioned by the irregular behaviour of the French prisoners, who, after the ship struck, refused to be controuled either by their own officers, or the few English who were on board. The loss of men on the part of the British, amounted in whole to 1050 killed and wounded, of whom 253 were killed on the spot, while that of the French was computed at no fewer than 3000 killed and 6000 wounded. The number of slain in the *Ville de Paris* alone was said to be upwards of 400. Thirty-six chests of money, designed for the payment of the troops to be employed in the invasion of Jamaica, were found in the *Ville de Paris*. This ship had been a present from the city of Paris to Louis XV. in the ruinous state of the marine which took place at the close of the war 1755. No pains or expence were spared to render the gift worthy of such a great city, and the monarch to whom she was presented. The building was thought to have cost 176,000 l. and it was singular, that along with the money for the payment of the troops, the whole train of artillery, battering cannon, and travelling carriages, designed for the invasion of Jamaica, happened to be on board the ships now taken. The remains of the conquered fleet were closely pursued by Commodore Affleck in the *Bedford*, and some other ships, which kept an incessant fire upon them till night. Some ran down for shelter to the Dutch island of Curacoa; but the greater part, under the conduct of Mess. Bougainville and de Vaudreuil, keeping together in a body, made the best of their way to Cape Francois. Sir George Rodney himself attempted to pursue the enemy next morning; but the fleet having been becalmed for three days successively, they found an opportunity of making their escape; on which the Admiral dispatched Sir Samuel Hood to the west end of St Domingo and Hispaniola to pick up some of the straggling or disabled vessels. This commission he executed

with such diligence, that he took the *Jafon* and *Cato*, two ships of war of 64 guns, and two frigates in their company; a third frigate, which was along with them, very narrowly making her escape. In this fatal engagement, therefore, the French lost eight ships of the line, six of which were in the possession of the English; one had been sunk, and another blown up after her capture. Sir Samuel Hood joined the fleet off Cape Tiberoon, and Sir George Rodney proceeded with his prizes to Jamaica, where he arrived by the end of April \*.

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- \* The following account is given of this action by the brave Admiral:

*Fermdable at Sea, April 14. 1782.*

S I R,

IT has pleased God, out of his divine providence, to grant to his Majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of the enemy, commanded by the Count de Grasse, who is himself captured with the *Ville de Paris*, and four other ships of his fleet, besides one sunk in the action.

This important victory was obtained on the 12th instant, after a battle, which lasted with unremitting fury from seven in the morning till half past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest.

Both fleets have greatly suffered; But it is with the highest satisfaction I can assure their Lordships, that though the masts, sails, rigging, and hulls of the British fleet are damaged, yet the loss of men has been but small, considering the length of the battle, and the close action they so long sustained, and in which both fleets looked upon the honour of their king and country to be most essentially concerned,

The great supply of naval stores lately arrived in the West Indies, will, I flatter myself, soon repair all the damages his Majesty's fleet has sustained.

The gallant behaviour of the officers and men of the fleet I have the honour to command has been such as must for ever endear them to all lovers of their king and country.

The noble behaviour of my second in command, Sir Samuel Hood, who in both actions most conspicuously exerted himself, demands my warmest encomiums. My third in command, Rear Admiral Drake, who, with his division, led the battle on the 12th instant, deserves the highest praise; —nor less can be given to Commodore Affleck, for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division.

My own captain, Sir Charles Douglas, merits every thing I can possibly say. His unremitting diligence and activity greatly eased me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day.

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The victory over De Grasse proved as decisive in its consequences in the West-Indian war, as that over Corn-

In short, I want words to express how sensible I am of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers and men, who had a share in this glorious victory obtained by their gallant exertions.

The enemy's whole army, consisting of 5500 men, were on board their ships of war. The destruction among them must be prodigious, as for the greatest part of the action every gun told; and their Lordships may judge what havoc must have been made, when the Formidable fired near eighty broadsides.

Inclosed I have the honour to send for their inspection the British and French lines of battle, with an account of the killed and wounded, and damages sustained by his Majesty's fleet.

Lord Cranston, who acted as one of the captains of the Formidable during both actions, and to whose gallant behaviour I am much indebted, will have the honour of delivering these dispatches. To him I must refer their Lordships for every minute particular they may wish to know, he being perfectly master of the whole transaction.

That the British flag may for ever flourish in every quarter of the globe, is the most ardent wish of him who has the honour of being, with great regard.

S I R,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
G. B. RODNEY.

*Philip Stephens, Esq.*

*A List of the French Ships taken.*

La Ville de Paris, 110 guns; had on board in the engagement, 1300 men.

|              | <i>Guns</i> | <i>Men</i> | <i>Soldiers.</i> |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------------|
| Le Glorieux, | 74          | 750        | 150              |
| Le Cæsar,    | 74          | 750        | 150              |
| Le Hector,   | 74          | 750        | 150              |
| L' Ardent,   | 64          | 650        | 100              |

One sunk, name unknown.

LINE OF BATTLE.

*The Royal Oak to lead on the starboard tack, and the Marlborough on the larboard.*

Rear-Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD, Bart.

| <i>Frigates.</i> | <i>Rate.</i> | <i>Ships.</i> | <i>Commanders.</i> | <i>Guns.</i> | <i>Men.</i> |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 3d               |              | Royal Oak     | Captain Burnett    | 74           | 600         |
| —                |              | Alfred        | Bayne              | 74           | 600         |



wallis had been in the American war in the north; nothing of any consequence being now further attempt-  
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| <i>Frigates.</i>           | <i>Rate.</i> | <i>Ships.</i>  | <i>Commanders.</i>  | <i>Guns.</i> | <i>Men.</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------|
| • Lizard                   | —            | Montague       | — Bowen             | 74           | 600         |
|                            | —            | Yarmouth       | — Parry             | 64           | 500         |
| • La Nymphe                | —            | Valiant        | — Goodall           | 74           | 650         |
| Champion to repeat signals | } 2d         | Basseur        | Sir Sam. Hood Bart. | } 90         | 767         |
| Zebra                      |              | Monarch        | Captain Knight      |              |             |
|                            | 3d           | Warrior        | — Reynolds          | 74           | 600         |
|                            | —            | Belliqueux     | — Sutherland        | 64           | 500         |
|                            | —            | Centaur        | — Inglefield        | 74           | 650         |
|                            | —            | Magnificent    | — Linzee            | 74           | 600         |
| Alecto                     | —            | Prince William | — Wilkinson         | 64           | 500         |

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Sir GEORGE BRIDGES RODNEY, Bart. &c. &c. &c.  
 Commander in Chief.

|                      |              |            |                       |      |     |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------------|------|-----|
| • Convert            | — Bedford    | {          | Commodore Affleck     | } 74 | 617 |
| Endymion             | — Ajax       |            | Captain Graves        |      |     |
| Alarm                | — Repulse    | —          | Charrington           | 74   | 550 |
|                      | —            | —          | Dumerasq;             | 64   | 500 |
| Andromache           | — Canada     | {          | Hon. William          | } 74 | 600 |
|                      | —            |            | Cornwallis            |      |     |
| • Fortune            | — St Alban's | —          | Inglis                | 64   | 500 |
| Flora to repeat fig. | {            | 2d         | Namur                 | } 90 | 705 |
| Alert                |              | —          | Fanhawe               |      |     |
|                      | — Formidable | {          | Sir G. B. Rodney, Bt. | } 90 | 750 |
|                      |              |            | Sir Cha. Douglas, Bt. |      |     |
|                      |              |            | First Captain         |      |     |
| • Sybil              | — Duke       | —          | Captain Symons        | 90   | 750 |
| • Pegasus            | 3d           | Agamemnon  | — Caldwell            | 64   | 500 |
|                      | —            | Resolution | — Rt. Hon. Ld.        | } 74 | 600 |
|                      | —            | —          | Robert Manners        |      |     |
| • Salamander         | —            | Prothee    | — Buckner             | 64   | 500 |
|                      | —            | Hercules   | — Savage              | 74   | 600 |
|                      | —            | America    | — S. Thomson          | 64   | 500 |

Rear Admiral DRAKE, &c. &c. &c.

|                                 |      |               |   |                    |      |     |
|---------------------------------|------|---------------|---|--------------------|------|-----|
| Near Admiral DRAKE, &c. &c. &c. |      |               |   |                    |      |     |
| * Germaine                      | —    | Ruffel        | — | Saumarez           | 74   | 600 |
|                                 | —    | * Prudent     | — | Barkley            | 64   | 500 |
| * Blaft                         | —    | Fame          | — | Barbor             | 74   | 560 |
|                                 | —    | Anfon         | — | Blair              | 64   | 500 |
|                                 | —    | Torbay        | — | Gidoir             | 74   | 600 |
| Triton                          | 2d   | Prince George | — | Williams           | 90   | 750 |
| Eurydice to repeat signals      | } 3d | Princessa     | { | F. Sa. Drake, Esq; | } 70 | 577 |
|                                 |      | Conqueror     |   | Capt. Knatchbull   |      |     |
|                                 | —    | —             | — | Balfour            | 74   | 600 |

CHAP. ed on either side. The enemy indeed still remained  
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| Frigates.      | Rate. | Ships.      | Commanders.  | Guns. | Men. |
|----------------|-------|-------------|--------------|-------|------|
| * Santa Monica | —     | Nonsuch     | — Trufcott   | 64    | 500  |
|                | —     | Alcide      | — C. Thomson | 74    | 600  |
|                | —     | Arrogant    | — Cornish    | 74    | 600  |
|                | —     | Marlborough | — Penny      | 74    | 600  |

All accidental frigates to be opposite the centre division.

N. B. Those marked \* not with the fleet during the actions.

*A list of the French Fleet in Port Royal Bay. April 2. 1782.*

| Ships.                | Guns. | Ships.                   | Guns. |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| La Ville de Paris, -  | 110   | Le Burgogne, - - -       | 74    |
| L'Auguste, - - -      | 80    | * Le Destian, - - -      | 74    |
| Le Duc de Burgogne, - | 80    | S Le Dauphin Royal - -   | 74    |
| Le Languedoc, - - -   | 80    | S Le Magnifique, - - -   | 74    |
| * Le St Esprit, - - - | 80    | * Le Reflexie, - - -     | 64    |
| S La Couronne, - - -  | 80    | Le Bien Aime, - - -      | 74    |
| Le Neptune, - - -     | 80    | Le Sceptre, - - -        | 74    |
| § Le Triomphante, - - | 80    | Le Northumberland, -     | 74    |
| Le Zele, - - -        | 74    | Le Conquerant, - - -     | 74    |
| Le Glorieux, - - -    | 74    | Le Marseillois, - - -    | 74    |
| Le Citoyen, - - -     | 74    | Le Palmier, - - -        | 74    |
| Le Souverain, - - -   | 74    | L'Ardent, - - -          | 64    |
| Le Magnanime, - - -   | 74    | L'Eveille, - - -         | 64    |
| Le Cæsar, - - -       | 74    | Le Caton, - - -          | 64    |
| Le Hector, - - -      | 74    | Le Jason, - - -          | 64    |
| S Le Brave, - - -     | 74    | Le Fier, armée en flute, | 54    |
| Le Pluton, - - -      | 74    | Le Minotaur, ditto, -    | 74    |
| Le Hercule, - - -     | 74    | Le Sagittaire, - - -     | 54    |
| Le Scipion, - - -     | 47    | L'Experiment, - - -      | 50    |

Total.—36 sail of the line, two 50 gun ships, 13 frigates, 7 armed brigs of the King's, 2 fire-ships, 1 cutter.

\* Out of repair.

S\* Joined at St Kitts.

S Arrived with the Brest convoy.

*Return of the Killed and wounded in the Ships under the command of Sir George Bridges Rodney, K. B. &c. &c. &c. on the 9th and 12th of April 1782.*

*Royal Oak*,—Mr. Gwatkin, tenants Breedon and Buchan, First Lieutenant killed, Captain of Marines wounded; 7 of marines, wounded; 11 seamen killed, 29 wounded.

*Alfred*,—Captain Bayne killed; 11 seamen killed, 40 wounded. *Yarmouth*,—14 seamen killed, 33 wounded.

*Montague*,—Mr William Wimbleton, Second Lieutenant, killed; Mr William Brown, Fifth Lieutenant,

at Cape Francois, along with 8000 land forces; several French men of war of the same description had been through the year on the same station; and the remains of the Count de Grasse's fleet, who were now collected

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and Mr Backhouse, Master wounded; 9 seamen killed, 26 wounded.

*Barfleur*,—10 seamen killed, 37 wounded.

*Monarch*,—16 seamen killed, 33 wounded.

*Warrior*,—Mr Stone, Master, wounded; 5 seamen killed, 20 wounded.

*Belliqueux*,—4 seamen killed, 10 wounded.

*Centaure*,—No returns, having a prize in tow and not joined.

*Magnificent*,—Captain Bagg of Marines wounded. 6 seamen killed, 10 wounded.

*Prince William*,—None killed or wounded.

*Bedford*,—17 seamen wounded.

*Ajax*,—Mr John Elliot First Lieutenant, Mr Thomas Rossiter pilot, wounded. 9 Seamen killed, 38 wounded.

*Repulse*,—Captain of the Marines and Master, wounded; 3 seamen killed, 9 wounded.

*Canada*,—12 seamen killed, 23 wounded.

*St Albans*,—6 seamen wounded.

*Namur*,—6 seamen killed, 25 wounded.

*Formidable*,—Lieut. Hele killed; Captain Bell and Lieut. Harris, of marines wounded. 14 seamen killed, 37 wounded.

*Duke*,—Lieut. Cornish, Mr Cooper master, Mr Scott boatswain, wounded. 13 seamen killed, 57 wounded.

Total 230 killed.—759 wounded.

*Agamemnon*,—Lieutenants Incledon and Brice wounded; the latter since dead. 14 seamen killed, 22 wounded.

*Resolution*,—The Right Hon. Lord Robert Manners wounded. 4 seamen killed, 34 wounded.

*Protbee*,—Mr Thomas Love master wounded. 5 seamen killed, 24 wounded.

*Hercules*,—Lieut. Hobard killed, Capt. Savage wounded. 6 seamen killed, 18 wounded.

*America*,—Lieut. Collowhill killed, Lieut. Trelawney wounded.

*Ruffel*,—10 seamen killed, 29 wounded.

*Fame*,—3 seamen killed, 12 wounded.

*Anson*,—Capt. Blair killed. 2 seamen killed, 13 wounded.

*Torbay*,—Lieut. Mounier of marines killed. 9 seamen killed, 25 wounded.

*Prince George*,—9 seamen killed, 24 wounded.

*Princessa*,—Lieutenants Dundas and M'Douall, and Lieut. Laban of marines, wounded. 3 seamen killed, 19 wounded.

*Conqueror*,—7 seamen killed, 23 wounded.

*Nonfuch*,—3 seamen killed, 3 wounded.

*Alcide*, No returns, having a prize in tow, and not joined.

*Arrogant*,—None killed or wounded.

*Marlbrough*,—3 seamen killed, 16 wounded.

CH A P. under Monf. de Vaudreuil, amounted to 23 fail of the  
 XXVII. line ; but the late blow was too fevere to be soon forgotten, and all attempts on Jamaica was quickly abandoned. The Spanish fleet and troops returned to the Havannah ; a number of the French ships came home with convoys ; and the remainder under M.de Vaudreuil returned to North America, while Sir Samuel Hood, with 25 fail of the line, remained master of the West Indian seas. North America, however, afforded no military tranfaction of any consequence. The opposite armies of New-York and its neighbourhood were so nearly balanced with respect to force, that very little room was left for enterprize on either side ; the war was also thought to be ended by the capture of Cornwallis ; and the state of inactivity to which both parties were so happily inclined, was confirmed by the resolutions which by this time had been taken by the British Parliament, and of which an account shall be given in its proper place. The victorious Admiral, in the mean time, sailed from Jamaica, in the beginning of August, to the enjoyment of those honours which had already been conferred upon him. As soon as the news of the victory arrived, he had been created a Peer by the name of Lord Rodney ; Admiral Hood was raised to the same dignity by the title of Lord Hood ; while Admiral Drake and Commodore Affleck, who had likewise highly distinguished themselves, were invested with the dignity of baronets of Great Britain.

Unsuccessful attempt on the island of Jersey. During this active period in the West Indies, the contending parties were by no means slack in their efforts for mutual destruction in Europe. The French began the year 1781, with a second attempt upon the island of Jersey. This was undertaken by the Count de Rullecourt, who had been second to the Count de Nassau in the former ; and for his encouragement, was promised the rank of General, and the Order of St Louis, in case of success. His forces in this expedition amounted to 2000 men, composed of the volunteers of Luxembourg, with detachments from other corps in the neighbourhood. But though this force was undoubtedly sufficient for the purpose, and the abilities of the commander can scarcely be doubted, a certain rashness and impetuosity in his manner of conducting the enterprize proved very detrimental in the first instance, and, in all probability, contributed to its final overthrow.—Prompted by this natural impatience, the commander in chief having collected a sufficient number of vessels for the conveyance of his

troops, and some privateers for their protection at Granville, on the coast of Normandy, he put to sea without any regard to the bad weather which then prevailed. The immediate and unavoidable consequence of this was, that his vessels were dispersed; ten of them, with about half the troops, driven back to France, without their being ever able to join him again; whilst he with the remainder took shelter under a small cluster of islands and rocks called Chaufey or Choze, lying between the coast of France and Jersey. Rullecourt then, without waiting for, or even knowing the fate of his companions, took the first opportunity of sailing for the island of Jersey, and arrived in Grouville Bay in the night, where having landed his troops at a place called Violent Bank, about three miles from St Helier, the capital of the island, he proceeded next morning, January 6, towards that place. By this time, however, his force was considerably reduced; for besides those embarked on board the ten vessels which returned to France, as already mentioned, he had lost four vessels more among the rocks on the coast of Jersey, where 200 of his men also perished; and he had left 120 in a redoubt at Grouville. With the remainder he arrived at St Helier before day-light, where, having seized the avenues to the town, surprised the guard in the dark, and taken possession of the market-place without any noise, the inhabitants were astonished at day-break, on finding themselves in the hands of an enemy. Major Corbet, the deputy-governor, with the magistrates and principal inhabitants, being brought prisoners to the Court-house, the French commander wrote out terms of capitulation, which he proposed to the lieutenant-governor, and which he forced him to sign, though repeatedly warned, that no act of his while a prisoner could be of any validity.

By virtue of this extorted act of submission, the French commander vainly hoped that all resistance on the part of the inhabitants or troops in the rest of the island would be at an end. But in this he was much deceived. Two officers, Captains Aylward and Mulcaster, had fortunately escaped, during the confusion of the first surprise, to Elizabeth Castle, and had already put themselves into a tolerable posture of defence. The summons to surrender was, therefore, rejected with disdain. The French, however, advanced towards the gate, cruelly placing Major Corbet in the front, but were received with such a brisk fire as soon obliged them to retreat with precipitation. In the extreme hurry and impatience of the commander he had no

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glected to take possession of a hill of great advantage, which was instantly secured by Major Pierſon of the 95th regiment, under whom the militia began now to aſſemble with great alacrity. To this officer Rullecourt ſent a meſſage requiring his compliance with the terms of capitulation ſigned by the deputy-governor, but received for anſwer, that if he himſelf and his party did not, within twenty minutes, lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, they would, at the expiration of that time, be certain of an immediate attack. The Engliſh commander made an excellent diſpoſition of his forces; and as he was informed that the enemy had the town artillery, the two columns, in which his men marched to the attack, were each preceded by an howitzer. The event of this combat was ſoon decided, the French being every where driven in towards the market-place; and Rullecourt being mortally wounded, the ſecond in command requeſted the lieutenant-governor to reſume his authority, and accept of their ſurrender as priſoners of war. Even in the utmoſt extremity the unfortunate Count Rullecourt perſevered in the extravagance which had marked his character from the beginning. When the attack was commenced in the market-place, he ſeized the lieutenant-governor by the arm, and declaring that he ſhould ſhare his own fate, led him out of the court-houſe, under a very heavy fire, where he was obliged to ſtand cloſe by him, until Rullecourt himſelf ſunk under the preſſure of three or four mortal wounds, which deprived him of the power of ſpeech, though not of life, until he had ſeen the ruin and ſurrender of his party. The Engliſh commander, Major Pierſon, was alſo ſhot through the heart, and expired in the moment of victory. The extraordinary military abilities diſplayed by ſo young an officer, he being under 25 years of age, could not but render his death an object of general regret; and his death was rendered more melancholy by that of his uncle Sir Richard Pierſon, which happened immediately after, and was attributed ſolely to his grief for the loſs of his beloved nephew.

Convoy  
from St Euf-  
ſtatus cap-  
tured by  
Piquet.

But though the French were thus ſoiled with diſ-  
grace in their attempts upon the iſland of Jerſey, they  
found means to repair their loſſes by intercepting part  
of the convoy returning from St Eufſtatus, and laden  
with the ſpoils of that iſland. Intelligence having  
been received of the abſence of the grand fleet under  
Admiral Darby, who had failed to the relief of Gib-  
raltar, (of which afterwards), a ſquadron of ſeven or  
eight ſhips of the line were ſitted out at Breſt, and ſent

under the command of M. de la Motte Piquet to profit by this favourable opportunity. The intention of this expedition was to intercept not only the Eustatius' convoy, but a rich fleet, homeward-bound from Jamaica at the same time. Piquet succeeded, however, only in the first part of his design, and not fully even in that. Four men of war, under Commodore Hotham, who escorted the merchantmen, with part of the convoy itself, escaped to Ireland, but 14 or 15 rich vessels were taken, (May 2. 1781); by which, it is said, the May 2. underwriters or insurers in England lost 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*

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Britain, in the mean time, thus severely attacked in every quarter, determined to avenge herself on one of the principal settlements of her former allies, but now, as she thought, ungrateful and treacherous enemies, the Dutch.—A small squadron had been sent along with the grand fleet, (at the time it carried provision for the relief of Gibraltar), under the command of Commodore Johnston, with a body of land forces under General Meadows, who had already distinguished himself so much in the engagement with d'Estaing at St Lucia. This squadron consisted of one ship of 74, one of 64, and three of 50 guns, besides several frigates, a bomb vessel, fire ship, and some sloops of war. The land forces consisted of three new regiments of 1000 men each. Several outward-bound East Indiamen and ordnance vessels went along with this convoy, so that the whole amounted to more than 40 sail. The object was for some time unknown, and it was supposed to be designed against the Spanish settlements in South America, where great insurrections were said to have prevailed; but, on the commencement of the Dutch war, its object was probably changed, and it was now destined for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope.—As the Dutch were by no means prepared for war at the time Great Britain had attacked them, they applied, on the present occasion, for relief to France, which monarchy was indeed almost as much interested as themselves in the preservation of that valuable settlement. A squadron of five ships of the line were accordingly appointed for its protection, along with some frigates, and a body of land forces. These sailed from Breit, in company with the grand fleet bound to the West Indies, under the command of De Grasse, in the latter end of March 1781. They were ultimately designed, indeed, to reinforce M. de Orves, and oppose the English fleet under Sir

Attack  
meditated  
on the  
Cape of  
Good  
Hope.

C H A P. Edward Hughes in the East Indies ; but for the present,  
 XXVII. Suffrein's instructions were to pursue and counteract  
 1781. Commodore Johnstone's armament, on every occasion,  
 and in every possible manner.

April 16. The British commander, in the mean time, pursued  
 Commo- his course, and having put into the harbour of Port  
 dore John- Praya, at St Jago, one of the most considerable of the  
 stone's en- Cape de Verd Islands belonging to Portugal, to take in  
 gagement water and provisions, where he lay without suspicion,  
 with Suff- was suddenly and boldly attacked by M. de Suffrein.  
 rein's No fleet could possibly be taken more at a disadvan-  
 squadron. tage ; the decks of most of the ships being encumbered  
 with water casks and live-stock, while the suddenness  
 of the attack afforded no time for the clearing of them.  
 The engagement lasted for about an hour and a half ;  
 during which time the Hannibal, a French ship of 74  
 guns, was reduced to the condition of a mere wreck.  
 After losing her fore-mast and bowsprit, her cable was  
 either cut or shot away. In the effort of hoisting more  
 sail to get out of the extreme danger to which she was  
 exposed, her main and mizen-masts went over board,  
 so that she remained a mere hulk upon the water, and  
 in a condition in which it is not easy to be conceived  
 how she could possibly escape. However, she made a  
 shift to reach the other ships, and being by them towed  
 into a place of safety, was assisted to refit. Commodore  
 Johnstone pursued the enemy with all expedition ; but  
 the damage done to his own ships, particularly the Isis,  
 together with the lateness of the day, and the direction  
 of the winds and currents, rendered it impossible to  
 obtain any advantage, farther than recovering the  
 Hinchinbrooke Indiaman, which, after a gallant re-  
 sistance, had been carried out by the enemy ; and the  
 Infernal fire-ship, which had likewise fallen into the  
 hands of the French, was again recovered by her own  
 crew.

Notwithstanding this severe chastisement, the French  
 squadron arrived at the southern extremity of the  
 African continent before that commanded by Commo-  
 dore Johnstone. The latter sailed from Port Praya in  
 June, the beginning of May, and towards the middle of June  
 dispatched Captain Pigot, with three or four of the best  
 sailing frigates, towards the southern extremity of  
 Africa, in order to obtain, if possible, some intelligence  
 of the state of the enemy in that quarter ; and with  
 instructions to rejoin the fleet at a certain latitude.—In  
 his way the captain fell in with a large Dutch East  
 Indiaman of 1200 tons, which had newly sailed from



Saldanha bay near the Cape. This was a valuable prize, being laden with stores and provisions for the island of Ceylon, besides 40,000*l.* in bullion. From her crew he likewise obtained intelligence, that Suffrein, with five sail of the line, most of his transports, and a considerable body of troops had arrived at False Bay on the 21st of June; and that several Dutch East India ships (homeward-bound, but afraid to proceed) were then at anchor at Saldanha bay, about fourteen leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. The reason of their lying at such a distance from the place where they could only hope for security and protection from an enemy, was, that the Table Bay, where these forts lie, is very dangerous for shipping during the winds which blow in the time of our summer months.

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The expedition which Suffrein had made use of in his voyage to the Cape, effectually disappointed the British commander in his views on that settlement, but could not prevent him from making an attempt on the ships in the bay of Saldanha, which was executed with equal spirit and success. The difficulty lay in conducting the surprize in such a manner as should prevent the enemy from having time to destroy the shipping. To facilitate this purpose, the commodore took the charge of pilotage upon himself; and having run his ships under the shore in the night time, entered the bay early in the morning with such alertness and rapidity, that the enemy, though under apprehensions of his arrival, and having their sails already bent in expectation of the event, had scarce time to run their ships on shore, set them on fire, and leave them. They were instantly boarded, however, by the British seamen, who, with the utmost expedition, extinguished the flames, and had the good fortune to save four vessels of 1000 or 1100 tons each; but another of equal burthen and value blew up about ten minutes after the boats had found their endeavours in vain to save her. It was a matter of some curiosity to see General Meadows assisting personally in this dangerous service, so entirely foreign to his professional line of action.

Dutch  
Shipstaken  
and de-  
stroyed by  
him in the  
bay of Sal-  
danha.

During the performance of this piece of service, a Kings of Tidore and Ternate delivered from captivity. boat was seen rowing from the shore to the commodore's ship, filled with people in the eastern garb, who made the most affecting signs of supplication. These were the two kings of Tidore and Ternate, (two valuable spice islands), with their families, who had long been detained in miserable captivity by the Dutch. These unhappy princes having, upon some jealousy or suspi-

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cion, been deposed by the Dutch, had, according to the harsh and cruel maxims which have ever disgraced their government in the east, for several years been confined in a parched and desolate island near this place, which serves as a receptacle for malefactors of all nations from their various settlements in the east, and where they and their families were, without regard to sex or quality, obliged to herd upon equal terms with the most profligate and abandoned of the human race. They had, for some reason or other, been removed from the island to the continent, from whence they now sought for refuge on board the English squadron.—Having taken on board these unfortunate people, the commodore, with his own ship, the *Romney*, his prizes, and most of the frigates, set sail for England, where he arrived in safety, excepting that one of the prizes was lost in the Channel, and a number of brave seamen in her. This expedition afforded much matter of discussion at home.

M. de la  
Motte ap-  
prehend-  
ed,

It was very unfortunate for Britain that none of her schemes, however well concerted, could be kept secret from the knowledge of the enemy, who had so many spies in every quarter, that all her plans of operation were constantly discovered in sufficient time to be counteracted. To this it was owing that Commodore Johnstone's expedition was not attended with all the success that might have been expected. Britain, however, had the satisfaction, in this instance, of discovering the culprit, and treating him agreeably to his deserts. He was not, as most of the persons employed in the disgraceful business of a spy, one of the lower order of the people. His name was Mr Henry de la Motte, a French gentleman, who had been a colonel of the regiment of Soubise in last war, and had behaved, on several occasions with great gallantry. Upon the conclusion of the war his regiment was broke; soon after which the title of Baron Deckham, with an hereditary estate, devolved to him. Having lived beyond the limits of his fortune, he retired to England, and had for some time resided in London as an agent for the Court of France. He was discovered in the following manner:—One Ratcliffe, master of a cutter, gave information that he had been hired by one Mr Rougier to carry packets to the French Commissary at Boulogn, for which he was to be paid 20*l.* each time, and to have 100*l.* besides at a certain period. Apprehending at last, however, that he might incur some danger by continuing this employment, he gave information of

what was going on to one Mr Steward, a merchant at Sandwich, by whom his last packet was sent to the secretary of state, Lord Hillsborough, who took copies of all, and then returned them to Mr Steward, who, by his Lordship's orders, sent them to Boulogn, by which contrivance the schemes of De la Motte were frustrated, government having a previous knowledge of the contents of the various packets. This was the fate of several other packets; and it was some time before Ratcliffe saw the principal party concerned. At last this was accomplished, by his complaining to Mr Rougier that he had not been paid the 100l. according to promise. A meeting being thus procured, it was found, that the person who gave the intelligence to the enemy was M. de la Motte. On searching his house, no papers of any consequence were found; but on his arrival, being from home when the King's messengers first came, he was observed to throw some papers out of his waistcoat pocket, unperceived by any body, as he thought. The papers, however, were taken up by the messengers, and gave plain indications of a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, as they contained not only an account of all the particulars of Governor Johnstone's Squadron, but of our marine in the different ports, their destination and condition, both with regard to victualling and strength. From these papers it also appeared, that he was connected with one Henry Lutterloch, Esq; a German, then residing at Wickham, near Portsmouth, who being likewise apprehended, made a full discovery of this treasonable correspondence. Upon M. de la Motte's trial, Lutterloch was admitted King's evidence, and made a very extraordinary declaration. He said, that he embarked in a plot with the prisoner in the year 1778 to furnish the French Court with secret intelligence of the navy, for which he only received eight guineas a month. The importance of his information, however, appeared so clear to M. de la Motte, that he shortly after allowed him fifty guineas a month, besides many valuable presents; that upon any emergency he came post to town; but common occurrences, relative to their treaty, he sent by the post. He had been to Paris by direction of M. de la Motte, and had been closetted with Mons. Sartine, the French minister. He had formed a plan for capturing Governor Johnstone's Squadron, for which he demanded 8000 guineas, and a third share of the ships, to be divided amongst the prisoner, himself, and his friend in a certain office; but the French Court would not consent to give more than an eighth share of the squadron. After agree-

CH A P. ing to enable the French to take the Commodore, he  
 XXVII. said he went to Sir Hugh Palliser, and offered a plan to  
 take the French, and to defeat his original project with  
 which he had furnished the French Court.—Lutterloch,  
 in the course of his evidence, gave such an account of  
 himself, as evidently showed him to be one of the most  
 wicked and depraved of all mankind, devoid of every  
 sensation except the desire of accumulating wealth. His  
 evidence, however, and other strong circumstances,  
 were sufficient to convict his unhappy accomplice, who  
 was accordingly hanged at Tyburn on the 27th of July  
 1781; the King being pleased to remit that dreadful  
 part of his sentence of having his heart taken out alive,  
 &c.—During his trial, and at the place of execution,  
 M. de la Motte behaved in such a manner as showed  
 him to be an accomplished gentleman; and not only  
 excited the compassion, but the admiration of every one  
 who saw him. Perhaps he would not have stood so  
 firm and collected, at so awful a moment had he not,  
 however mistakenly, felt a kind of conscious innocence  
 within his own breast, that he had devoted his life to  
 the service of his country.

and hang-  
 ed for a  
 spy, July  
 27.

Hitherto the fleets of Holland had been in such a  
 bad state, that they durst attempt nothing on the  
 European seas. They had even shewed a deficiency  
 in seamen, which astonished all Europe, as they had  
 been thought to abound in them beyond every other  
 nation, Britain alone excepted. Their vicinity to the  
 British ports, however, proved very prejudicial to the  
 commerce of this nation, and required a squadron to  
 be kept constantly in the Downs, as well to watch  
 their motions in general, as to prevent their inter-  
 course with the southern parts of Europe; and it was  
 still more essentially necessary to have such a force in  
 the North Seas, as would be capable of ruining their  
 immense commerce in that quarter, and of protecting  
 our own; besides the farther object of effectually pre-  
 venting them from restoring their marine, by cutting  
 off their only resources of naval supply. For this last  
 purpose, Admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran officer of  
 great reputation, sailed from Portsmouth in the begin-  
 ning of June, with four ships of the line, and one of 50  
 guns, for the North Sea. The Dutch, in the mean  
 time, having used every effort to equip a force suffi-  
 cient to protect their trade, dispatched Admiral Zout-  
 man, with eight ships of the line, from 54 to 74 guns,  
 ten frigates, and five sloops, with a very large convoy  
 under their protection, from the Texel. Several of

the frigates were very large, the Argo carrying 44 guns, and five other 36. They were joined by the Charlestown an American frigate, of extraordinary construction, being as long and large as a ship of the line, with several hundred men on board, and thirty-six cannon, carrying shot of forty two pounds weight on one deck. This formidable squadron was met by Admiral Parker on his return with a large convoy from Ellineur. He had been joined by several frigates and the Dolphin of 44 guns, since his departure from Portsmouth; and he was now very opportunely reinforced by Commodore Keith Stewart in the Berwick of 74 guns; so that his squadron consisted of six ships of the line, viz. the Princess Amelia of 80 guns, the Fortitude and Berwick of 74 each, the Bienfaisant of 64, the Buffalo of 60, and the Preston of 50; but the superiority of the enemy obliged the Admiral to take the Dolphin of 44 guns into his line.

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The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger Bank, very early in the morning of August 5th 1781. One of the Dutch line of battle ships had Aug. 5.

by some accident been obliged to return into port, but she was replaced by the Argo of 44 guns. Admiral Parker perceiving the number and force of the enemy's frigates, detached the convoy, with orders to keep their wind, sending his own frigates along with them for protection. He then threw out signals for a general chase, and the enemy shewed themselves by no means disposed to shun the combat. Having likewise sent off their convoy, they waited with the utmost composure for the approach of their enemies. None of those manœuvres were now practised, by which the French had so often evaded the decision of naval actions throughout this war. Both parties were equally determined to fight it out to the last; and both kept silence till advanced within pistol shot of each other.

Admiral Parker in the Fortitude, then ranging abreast of Mr Zoutman's ship, the Admiral Ruyter, a most desperate engagement took place, which continued for three hours and forty minutes, during which time several of the British ships had fired 2500 shot each. At the expiration of this term, both fleets were so shattered, that the ships lay like logs, and were unwillingly parted by the mere motion of the water.

Desperate  
engage-  
ment be-  
twixt Ad-  
Hyde Par-  
ker and  
the Dutch  
fleet off the  
Texel.

The British claimed the victory, but were utterly unable to pursue the enemy, being totally disabled in their masts and rigging; while, on the other hand, the Dutch vessels having received an immense quantity of

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shot in their hulls, were so wofully torn, that they could scarcely be kept from sinking till they reached some of their nearest ports. In their passage, the Hollandia, one of their best ships of 68 guns, sunk in twenty-two fathom water; notwithstanding which her top-masts remained for some time visible, and her pendant being discovered in the morning, was cut away by one of the English frigates, who carried it off as a trophy of victory. The fate of this ship was so sudden and unexpected, that they were obliged to leave the wounded men to perish in her. Two more of their ships were so much disabled, as to be declared incapable of service. Their loss amounted to 1100 in killed, wounded, and sunk; while that of the British amounted to little more than half the number; there being in all only 104 men killed, and 339 wounded. Admiral Parker's letter, giving an account of the action, was distinguished by its conciseness and bluntness; by its modesty with respect to his own side, and by the full honour which it pays to the valour of the enemy\*.

\* *Fortitude at Sea, Aug. 6. 1781.*

SIR,

Yesterday morning, we fell in with the Dutch Squadron, with a large convoy, on the Dogger Bank. I was happy to find I had the wind of them, as the great number of their large frigates might otherwise have endangered my convoy. Having separated the men of war from the merchant ships, and made a signal to the last to keep their wind, I bore away with a general signal to chase. The enemy formed their line, consisting of eight two decked ships, on the star-board tack; ours, including the Dolphin, consisted of seven. Not a gun was fired on either side, until within the distance of half musquet shot. The Fortitude then being a-breast of the Dutch Admiral, the action began, and continued, with an unceasing fire, for three hours and forty minutes. By this time our ships were unmanageable. I made an effort to form the line, in order to renew the action, but found it impracticable. The Bienfaisant had lost his main top-mast, and the Buffalo his fore-yard. The rest of the ships were not less shattered in their masts, rigging, and sails. The enemy appeared to be in as bad a condition. Both squadrons lay to a considerable time near each other, when the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel. We were not in a condition to follow them.

His Majesty's officers and men behaved with great bravery, nor did the enemy shew less gallantry. The Fortitude was extremely well seconded by Captain Macartney in the Princess Amelia; but he was unfortunately killed early in the action. Lieutenant Hill has great merit, in so well supporting the conduct of his brave captain.

This engagement, like those we have already taken notice of in America and the West Indies, seemed to

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As there was great probability of our coming into action again, Captain Macbride very readily obliged me, by taking the command of that ship; and I have appointed Mr Waghorne, my first Lieutenant, to the command of the Artois. This gentleman, although much hurt in the action, refused to leave my side while it lasted. Captain Græme of the Preston has lost an arm.

Inclosed, I transmit a return of the killed and wounded, and an account of the damages sustained by the ships.

The enemy's force was, I believe, much superior to what their Lordships apprehended. I flatter myself they will be satisfied that we have done all that was possible with ours.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient,  
and most humble servant,  
H. PARKER.

P. S. The frigates, this morning, discovered one of the Dutch men of war sunk in 22 fathom water. Her top-gallant masts were above the surface, and her pendant still flying, which Captain Paton has struck, and brought to me on board. I believe she was the second ship in the line, of 74 guns.

*Officers killed and wounded.*

*Fortitude*,—Lieutenants Waghorne, Harrington, Hinckley; the boatswain and pilot wounded.

*Bienfaisant*,—Gunner wounded.

*Berwick*,—Lieutenants Skipsy and Maxwell, Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Stewart of marines, and six midshipmen wounded; pilot and two midshipmen killed.

*Princess Amelia*,—Captain Macartney and gunner killed; Lieutenants Hill, Smith, and Legget wounded.

*Preston*,—Captain Græme and third Lieutenant wounded.

*Buffalo*,—First Lieutenant and boatswain wounded.

*Dolphin*,—Lieutenant Dalby killed; boatswain wounded.

*Killed and Wounded.*

| <i>Ships.</i>    | <i>Guns.</i> | <i>Commanders.</i>                | <i>Kill.</i> | <i>Wound.</i> | <i>Total.</i> |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Fortitude,       | 74           | { V-Ad. Parker.<br>Ca. Robertson. | 20           | 67            | 87            |
| Bienfaisant,     | 64           | — Braithwaite.                    | 6            | 21            | 27            |
| Berwick,         | 74           | — Stewart.                        | 18           | 58            | 76            |
| Princess Amelia, | 80           | — Macartney.                      | 19           | 56            | 75            |
| Preston,         | 50           | — Græme.                          | 10           | 40            | 50            |
| Buffalo,         | 60           | — Truscott.                       | 20           | 64            | 84            |
| Dolphin,         | 44           | — Blair.                          | 11           | 33            | 44            |
|                  |              |                                   | 104          | 339           | 443           |

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prove decisive against the Dutch, at least in the European seas. Their Gazettes indeed claimed the victory in very gasconading terms, but the consequences evinced their defeat. Their convoy, as well as their ships of war, returned home in the utmost disorder and confusion; every idea of prosecuting the voyage to the Baltic was of necessity given up; all means of procuring naval stores cut off, and the immense trade between the northern and southern nations of Europe, which, along with their fisheries, had been the main support of the Dutch power and riches, was for the present totally annihilated. Honours, were, however, most liberally bestowed on the Admiral and other officers concerned in the engagement. Admiral Zoutman and Commodore Kingsbergen, the second in command, were immediately promoted; and most, if not all the first and second Captains, as well as several of the Lieutenants, were either raised in rank or command, or flattered with some peculiar mark of distinction.—Count Bentic of the Batavia, who, though mortally wounded in the engagement; informed that his ship was sinking, had refused to quit his station, was flattered in the article of death with honours, to a man in that situation utterly insignificant and useless. During the few days in which he continued to breathe after being put ashore, he was created Rear-admiral of Holland and West Friesland, and appointed Adjutant-general to the Prince Stadtholder; and after his death, every funeral honour was paid which can vainly be bestowed on the dead by the folly of the living.

In England, the victory was by no means received with the same exultation which the Dutch had expressed at the news of their defeat. Though the valour and conduct of Admiral Parker were universally acknowledged, yet the Government or Admiralty were as generally blamed because he had not taken the whole Dutch fleet. The Admiralty, it was said, could not have been ignorant of the great force which had so long been fitting out in the Texel, and ought to have furnished him with a number of ships sufficient to have coped with it. Nor did the Admiral himself seem to differ in sentiment from

| <i>Ships.</i>     | <i>Guns.</i> | <i>Commanders.</i> | } Not in the line. |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Artois,           | 40—          | Macbride.          |                    |
| Latona,           | 38—          | Sir H. Parker.     |                    |
| Belle Poule,      | 36—          | Patton.            |                    |
| Cleopatra,        | 32—          | Murray.            |                    |
| Surprise (cutter) | 10           | Lieutenant Rivett. |                    |



the common report of the day. The most flattering marks of respect, even a visit of the King in person, were insufficient to mollify his stubborn humour. He hinted his displeasure and intention of resignation, by wishing his Majesty "*Younger officers and better ships;*" and told him, that "he was now grown *too old* for the service." It was said also, that the King having hinted his intention of taking under his protection the son of Captain Macartney, a lad of seven years of age, who had seen his father killed by his side during the engagement, the Admiral apologized for informing him, that he had already adopted him as his own son. His discontent was farther manifested by his immediate resignation, and refusal of every honour that was offered him; though it was probably intended as an honour to the father, that his son Sir Hyde Parker was now appointed to the command of a squadron of frigates, which were employed in blocking up the Dutch ports during the remainder of the season.

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*Gibraltar in want of provisions—Relieved by Admiral Darby—Bombarded by the Spaniards, whose works are completely destroyed by General Elliot—Darby retires before the combined fleets—Admiral Kempenfeldt intercepts part of a convoy from Brest—Minorca taken by the Spaniards—Their final attempt on Gibraltar entirely defeated—Success of Admiral Barrington—Lord Howe sails to the coast of Holland—Part of Newfoundland and Quebec fleets taken—Loss of the Royal George—Gibraltar finally relieved by Lord Howe—Bahama Islands and Hudson's Bay Factories taken—Spaniards expelled from Honduras—Dutch African settlements reduced—Miserable fate of Rodney's prizes.*

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**D**URING this long space of contention throughout every quarter of the world, the court of Spain, whatever efforts she might make in other parts, still seemed to keep in view, as a principal point the reduction of Gibraltar. This important fortress, indeed, seemed more than once in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy; not through any efforts of them, but through the unavoidable necessity of the times, which prevented the garrison from being supplied with proper necessaries. We have already seen that it had been blockaded in the beginning of the year 1779, and relieved with a supply of provisions by Sir George Rodney in the year 1780, from which time it had been in a manner totally neglected for more

than a whole year. As early as the month of October 1780, Governor Elliot found it necessary to make a reduction of a quarter of a pound from each man's daily allowance of bread. Their quantity of meat was likewise reduced to a pound and a half *per* week; and that so bad, that it could scarcely be eaten. The officers were forbid to use powder in their hair, and the price of every necessary of life was advanced to the most enormous rate. Bad biscuit, full of worms, was now sold at a shilling *per* pound; flour, in much the same condition, at the same price; old dried pease at 1s. 4d. Salt of the worst kind, the sweepings of shops and store-houses, and half full of dirt, was sold at eight pence; old Irish salt butter at half-a-crown; the worst sort of brown sugar at the same price, and farthing candles at sixpence each.

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Famine in  
Gibraltar.

If these distresses were felt by the garrison, they were much more severely felt by the inhabitants, who had no allowance from Government. From the time that the last supply arrived from England, and even before that time, not a single vessel had come from Barbary, or the more distant parts of Africa. What little supplies they received, had been brought in small vessels from Minorca, from whom provisions were not to be purchased but at a most immoderate rate. When a market was opened by the arrival of one of these vessels, turkies sold at 3l. 12s. each, sucking pigs at two guineas; ducks at half-a-guinea; and small hens at 9s. each. A guinea has been known to be refused for a calf's pluck; and 27s. demanded for an ox's head. To heighten the distress, firing was also become so intolerably scarce, that a sufficiency of it was with great difficulty obtained for the most indispensable culinary purposes; clothes were washed in cold water, and worn without ironing.

This extreme distress being known in England, the relief of Gibraltar became one of the first objects with Government in the beginning of the year 1781, and the grand fleet under the conduct of Admirals Darby, Digby, and Sir J. Lockhart Ross, was appointed to the service. The fleet, consisting of about 28 sail of the line, sailed from St Helen's on the 13th of March 1781; March 13. but, by reason of a delay in waiting for the victuallers from Corke, missed De Grasse's fleet of 26 sail of the line, which sailed from Brest on the 22d of March for North America, where they assisted Washington to decide the fate of that continent, as we have already related. Having sent off the East and West India con-

**CH A P.** voys, amounting to no fewer than 300 sail, Admiral  
**XXVIII.** Darby with the ships of war, and 97 store-ships and  
 victuallers, kept on his course for Gibraltar, and meet-  
 ing with no enemy, which they expected to have done  
 in the latitude of Cape St Vincent's, arrived off Cadiz  
 1781.

**April 12.** on the 12th of April; Don Cordova with the Spanish  
 fleet retiring to that port at their approach. On the  
 same day, after exploring the situation of the Spanish  
 fleet, Admiral Darby forwarded the convoy, with  
 some men of war and frigates to cover them, to Gi-  
 braltar, as well as thirteen sail into the Mediterranean,  
 on their way to Minorca, whilst he cruized with the  
 main body of the fleet off the Strait's mouth, in order  
 to watch the motions of the enemy, should they venture  
 to put to sea. But though the fleet declined an en-  
 gagement with that of Britain, great dependence was  
 placed on the gun-boats they had left behind; and  
 had it now been in their power to have burned the  
 store-ships and victuallers, or prevented them from  
 delivering their cargoes, the fortress must undoubtedly  
 have surrendered in a short time for want of provisions.  
 The Spaniards had now, by long practice, arrived at con-  
 siderable perfection in constructing the boats above  
 mentioned, and had greatly encreased their number.  
 Each of them were worked by 20 oars, and carried a  
 long 26 pounder in its prow, which, by reason of its  
 length, threw shot much farther than any of the ship  
 guns. To render this new fleet still more destructive,  
 several bomb-bats, on a similar construction, were  
 added; and by having been so long in possession of the  
 Bay, they had now completely measured all the dis-  
 tances, and knew when to fire with effect.

These boats had been built at Algesiras, where they  
 remained every night; but taking advantage of the  
 calm which occurs regularly in the morning at that  
 season of the year, about 20 of these, under the con-  
 duct of a Don Moreno, constantly paid a visit to the  
 fleet and convoy at an early hour, cannonading and  
 bombarding them till the wind sprung up, after which  
 they immediately fled. It soon appeared, however,  
 that though the gun-boats were sufficient to create  
 trouble, and give much annoyance to the fleet, they were  
 utterly incapable either of dislodging it, or destroying  
 the convoy. The fortress was therefore relieved, to  
 the unspeakable mortification of Spain, who had almost  
 exhausted her strength in erecting works before the  
 place, and covering them with an artillery so tremen-  
 dous, that the like was perhaps never beheld in any

Gibraltar  
 relieved  
 by Ad.  
 Darby.

part of the world. As the hopes of reducing this stubborn fortress by famine were therefore now given up, it remained only to try the effects of that dreadful artillery which had been directed against it, and which seemed irresistible by any human power. It soon appeared, however, that though these engines carry terror and destruction to the human species, and the works erected by them, they nevertheless make a very pitiful figure when directed against any of the works of nature. To demolish a rock 1500 feet high, and of proportionable magnitude, is an exploit now determined to be beyond the power of the King of Spain, at least by means of artillery, and would most probably have baffled all the artillery in Europe, though it had been surrounded by it at once. Be this as it will, however, the unfortunate town of Gibraltar was now exposed to the discharge of 170 pieces of the heaviest cannon, and 80 very large mortars. For three weeks the enemy continued to discharge from these, every day, from four to five thousand cannon balls and shells, and to expend at least 100,000 pounds weight of gun powder. Nothing, it is said, could exceed the splendour and magnificence of this dreadful cannonade and bombardment, when viewed at a distance in the night-time, especially as it was returned with still superior fury by General Elliot; so that the rock seemed in a manner to be changed into a volcano, and to be totally immersed in fire and smoke, vomited forth from its own bowels. At last, however, this dreadful firing began to slacken. Even the treasures of Spain could not support such an immense expenditure. After firing 75,000 shot, and 25,000 shells, therefore, the number was reduced to about 600 of each every twenty-four hours, at which rate it continued for some weeks longer.

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The place  
dreadfully  
bombard-  
ed and  
gun cannon-  
aded.

In return for this prodigious expence the Spaniards had the satisfaction of demolishing the town of Gibraltar to its foundation, and killing great numbers of its inoffensive inhabitants. Though the number of houses were under five hundred, the inhabitants, (at least in the beginning of the siege) considerably exceeded 3000. These were composed of various nations and religions, the English amounting only to 500, the Roman Catholics to near 2000, and the Jews were little short of 900. They had been formed early in the reign of George II. into a corporation, with a Mayor and Aldermen (according to the English model) for their government.

The town  
entirely  
destroyed.

C H A P. The wives and families of the officers and garrison, it  
XXVIII. is probable are not included in this estimate.

1781.

Upon these fell, almost, the whole weight of this cruel cannonade and bombardment. Such as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, in the general destruction of the first night, fled, many of them nearly naked, to the remote parts of the rock. But the shells from the batteries reached to places which had always been deemed secure; and where these failed, the gun-boats lurking in the dark, poured death and destruction during the night to the most sequestered recesses. No scene could be more deplorable. It is said, that mothers and children, clasped in each others arms, were, at the same instant, so completely blown to pieces by the bombs, that it seemed rather an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. The casements, which could alone afford security, were filled by the garrison; and happy did ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate habits deem it, to be admitted to a few hours repose in them, amidst all the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded who were brought in from their works.

Time and fear, by degrees, led to the discovery of new places of security; nor was the fire of the enemy at all times equally fatal in those within reach; but when a cessation of its violence ensued, the surviving inhabitants having lost their houses and property, could no longer live in the place. They accordingly, including the families of the officers, eagerly seized every opportunity of shipping that offered for an escape, whether to England or to the neighbouring countries.

In other respects, the damage done was quite trifling. From the 12th of April to the end of June, only one commissioned officer and 52 private men were killed, and 7 officers and 253 privates wounded. While the fleet remained in the bay, General Elliot returned the enemy's fire as we have already remarked; but, so soon as they departed, his prudence and experience directed him to save his ammunition; for which reason, he allowed the enemy to waste themselves and their treasures as they pleased, while he seemed to behold their rage and violence with the utmost indifference.

By the above extraordinary effort, the fury of the Spaniards being in a great measure exhausted; and perceiving, that the utmost violence of their fire produced no effect, a great degree of quiet prevailed; nor did they make any attempts further than by annoying

the garrison in the night-time from their gun-boats, at the same time enlarging, and bringing to a state of still further perfection, the fortifications and batteries with which the place was surrounded.—But, during this calm, General Elliot, whose established character of prudence, caution, and the greatest tenderness for the lives of his men, was capable of lulling the most watchful enemy into security, secretly meditated a heavy blow upon the Spanish camp.—Seeing that the enemy's stupendous works were now, after immense labour and expence, arrived at their highest state of perfection, he considered this as the proper season of attempting at once to frustrate all their views, by attacking, storming, and destroying them. The design was glorious, and the object great.

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The time being fixed, and all the arrangements made, a strong detachment issued from the garrison; upon the setting of the moon, at three o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November 1781. The troops were divided in three columns; the centre being led by the Hanoverian Lieut-Colonel Dackenhausen; the column on the right by Lieut. Colonel Hugo, of the same corps; and that on the left, by Lieutenant Colonel Trig, of the 12th regiment. The reserve was led by Major Maxwell of the 73d; a party of seamen, in two divisions, by the Lieutenants Campbell and Muckle, of the Brilliant and Porcupine royal frigates; and the whole body was commanded by Brigadier General Ross. Each column was formed in the following order: An advanced corps; a body of pioneers; a party of artillery men, carrying combustibles; a sustaining corps; and a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen.

Nothing ever exceeded the silence and order of the march, the vigour and spirit of the attack, or the nice and exact combination of all the parts. The whole exterior front of the enemy's works was at the same instant every where attacked, and the ardour of the troops was in every place irresistible.—The Spaniards, astonished and dismayed by the fury of the assailants, gave way on every side; and were soon obliged entirely, and with the utmost precipitation, to abandon those prodigious works, which had cost so much labour, time and expence in the construction, and in whose expected effect the hopes of all Spain were centred. The most wonderful exertions were made by the pioneers and artillery-men, who spread their fire with such astonishing rapidity, that in half an hour,

Spanish  
works en-  
tirely de-  
stroyed by  
Ge. Elliot.  
Nov. 27.

C H A P. two mortar batteries of ten 13 inch mortars, and three  
XXVIII. batteries of heavy cannon, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames, and every thing subject to the action of fire was finally reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the course of the conflagration. The whole service was performed, and the detachment returned to the garrison, before day-break; it not exceeding two hours from the time of their departure. Their loss was too inconsiderable to be mentioned.

1781.

It is well known, that the war with Great Britain was by no means a popular act in Spain, and was generally considered rather as a court measure, originating under the influence of French counsels, than as the result of a policy founded on the real interests of that country. The little success, and the immense expence with which it had hitherto been attended, could not but increase the public dissatisfaction. It therefore, became necessary for the Court of Versailles to remove these impressions; and as neither Jamaica or Gibraltar could afford any such opportunity for the present, the sequestered island of Minorca, which, from the nature and particular circumstances of the war, was almost cut off from the possibility of succour, could not escape observation, as the object immediately offering for the purpose.

The Duke de Crillon, a French commander of repute, had been taken into the Spanish service, and appointed to conduct their forces in the enterprise against Minorca. And, in conformity with this design, M. de Guichen sailed from Brest, near the end of June, with a powerful squadron of 18 capital ships (of which four were of the greatest dimensions, and carried 110 guns each) in order to join the Spanish fleet, and support the invasion.

The combined fleets sailed from Cadiz, with about 10,000 Spanish troops, before the end of July. The French had been reinforced by the *Majestueux* of 110 guns, and some other ships of the line; and were commanded, besides the Count de Guichen, by *Monsieurs de Beaufllet* and *de la Motte Picquet*. The Spanish fleet amounted to about 30 sail of the line, and was commanded by *Don Lewis of Cordova*, and *Don M. de Gaston*. The army effected its landing at Minorca, without opposition, on the 20th of August; and was, not long after, joined by six regiments from

Aug. 20.



Toulon, under the conduct of Major General Count de Falkenhayn, who was deemed one of the best officers in the French service. The garrison was weak, consisting only of two English and two Hanoverian regiments; and what was little to be expected in that healthy climate, and dry rocky country, was exceedingly sickly, and particularly afflicted with the scurvy, during the siege. It was, however, commanded by two distinguished officers. Lieutenant General Murray, formerly governor of Quebec, now held the same rank in Minorca; and was seconded by Major General Sir William Draper, who commanded at the conquest of Manilla in the last war.

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The combined fleets were contented with seeing the troops safe into the Mediterranean; and then, trusting them to a small convoy, returned with diligence, to the amount, as it was said, of 49 ships of the line, to cruize at the mouth of the English channel. Though this was an effectual means of preventing any succour from being sent to Minorca, the enemy had other objects in view. They hoped to intercept some of our great homeward-bound convoys, which were then every day expected; and a very large outward-bound fleet, which was on the point of its departure from Corke, in Ireland, held out a similar temptation.

Our intelligence was so exceedingly bad, that no information of this naval manœuvre was obtained, nor was the design even suspected, until the combined fleets were arrived in the chops of the channel, and had formed a line from Ushant to the islands of Scilly, in order to bar its entrance; so that Admiral Darby, who was then at sea with only 21 ships of the line, was on the point of falling in with them, when the accidental meeting of a neutral vessel afforded him notice of their situation. In these unexpected circumstances he returned to Torbay, where he moored his squadron across the entrance, while he waited for instructions from the Admiralty to regulate his farther conduct. He was soon reinforced by several ships from different ports, so that his squadron was increased to 30 sail of the line, with which he was ordered to proceed to sea with the utmost expedition, in order to the preservation of the expected West India convoy; an object for which he was to encounter all hazards whatever; but still with such a view to the vast superiority of the enemy, as to avoid, so much as it could consistently with that be done, the being brought to a close and decisive engagement. The delay of waiting for reinforcement and

Ad. Darby  
retires be-  
fore the  
combined  
fleets,  
Aug. 24.

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Sep. 14.

instructions, in the first instance, and contrary winds, afterwards detained the fleet in Torbay, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, until the 14th of September.

In the mean time, a great alarm was spread in Ireland, as well as England, with respect to this unexpected movement, and to the apprehended designs of the enemy. The great outward-bound fleet for America and the West Indies, was not only supposed to be in imminent danger in the open harbour of Corke, but that city itself, which is totally unfortified, and which was at that time stored with immense quantities of provision, was considered as not being less so. The regular forces in that kingdom were accordingly ordered to the southward, for the protection of that city and coast; and the patriotic volunteers, who had gained so much honour in supporting and reclaiming the liberties of their country, now shewed no less patriotism in their immediate offer to government of instantly taking the field, and of marching wherever their services should be necessary to its defence.

As soon as the commanders of the combined fleets had received intelligence of Admiral Darby's position in Torbay, and of the inferiority of his force in point of number, a council of war was held, on the question of attacking him while in that situation. The Count de Guichen is said to have contended strongly for an immediate attack. Don Vincent, the third of the Spanish commanders, strongly supported this opinion: he asserted, that the destroying of Darby's fleet was so very practicable, that it would be highly difficult to justify or excuse their not making the attempt; and to give the greater effect to his sentiments, he boldly offered to command the van squadron, and to lead on the attack in his own ship. On the other hand, M. de Beausset, a French officer of repute, held a totally contrary opinion. He thought that the attempt on Torbay would be a measure unwarrantable in the design, and exceedingly hazardous in the execution, and that the allied fleets should direct their whole attention to that great and attainable object, of intercepting the English homeward-bound West India fleets. Don Louis de Cordova with all the Spanish flag-officers, except Don Vincent, coincided entirely in this opinion; so that M. de Guichen being either brought over to, or overruled by the majority, the idea of attacking Admiral Darby in Torbay was entirely renounced.

It has since appeared, that the combined fleets were in such exceeding bad condition, that had there been

any force then at home in England, which could with any degree of propriety in respect to number, at all face them, their ruin must have been inevitable. The hard weather, which came on in the beginning of September, accordingly frustrated all their views; and abandoning all hope of intercepting the British convoys, they were glad to get into port as soon as possible.

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Combined  
fleets re-  
tire to  
their re-  
spective  
ports.

The bad condition and circumstances of the combined fleets, however, were little capable of satisfying the people of France, with respect to the conduct of those commanders, who had opposed and over-ruled the opinion of Don Vincent in the council of war. The coffee-house politicians of Paris had taught the people of that capital to believe, that the English fleet could not escape being destroyed or taken in Torbay; and so flattering an illusion being eagerly swallowed, they could now hardly brook the disappointment, and were particularly violent in their censure and invective. The Count de Guichen did not escape his full share of these, being particularly blamed for suffering any discussion to arise upon the question of obedience to his general instructions for fighting; and the prejudice was so strong, that the rank and popularity of the Count d'Artois, (the King's brother), who led him arm in arm into his own box at the playhouse, was scarcely sufficient to save him from insult.

The arrival of the West India trade was so much later than had been expected, that Admiral Darby kept the sea until the month of November, and it was probably his attention to that important object, which prevented his falling in with a rich Spanish fleet, that in the intermediate time returned from America, and brought a large supply of treasure to Spain, which was then not a little wanted. It seemed almost remarkable, that neither the combined fleets nor the British had taken a single prize during the long term they had been respectively at sea.

On the return of M. de Guichen to France, the utmost expedition was used at Brest in refitting and preparing the fleet for sea, notwithstanding the lateness of the season. The objects in view were of sufficient consequence to excite this diligence. It was necessary to reinforce the Count de Grasse with both troops and ships of war in the West Indies, and it was determined to send a considerable reinforcement of both to support M. de Orves, and de Suffrein, in the East. A numerous convoy of transports, store-ships, and provision-

**C H A P. XXVIII.** vessels, were accordingly prepared and provided with the same diligence as the fleet. And, as it was likewise necessary to guard against the designs of the English, the preparation was extended to such a number of men of war, as was thought equal to the protection of the whole, until they had got out of reach. This part of the service, as well as the conduct of the whole, while he continued in company, was committed to the Count de Guichen; and the command of the squadron and fleet destined for the West Indies, to M. de Vaudreuil. The former was accompanied by Mons. de la Motte Picquet, and de Beauflet; and when he separated from the convoy, was to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, in order to defeat any attempt that might be made from England for the relief of the island of Minorca. M. de Vaudreuil carried out a considerable body of land forces, with a full confidence on the side both of France and Spain, of now carrying into complete execution the so often laid project of reducing the island of Jamaica.

Ad. Kempenfeldt intercepts part of a large convoy from Brest.

Dec. 12.

Intelligence of this preparation, and in a great measure of its object, being received in England, Admiral Kempenfeldt was dispatched, in the beginning of December, with 12 sail of the line, one 50 gun ship, and four frigates, in order to intercept the French squadron and convoy. Through bad intelligence, or, as some perhaps may rather think, through a certain marked fatality, which seems to have generally attended our operations through the course of the present war, the French fleet was so much superior to what had been conceived, as well as to Admiral Kempenfeldt's force, that the danger of being intercepted (if such had been the object of the enemy) lay entirely on his side. The Count de Guichen had no less than 19 sail of heavy line of battle ships under his command, besides two more armed *en flûte*.—The English Admiral, totally ignorant of the superiority of the enemy, and expecting that he had only an equal force, at the most, to encounter, had the fortune to fall in with them in a hard gale of wind, when both the fleet and convoy were a good deal dispersed, and the latter had fallen considerably a-stern. Mr Kempenfeldt, with that professional judgment and dexterity by which he was eminently distinguished, determined to profit of the present situation, by endeavouring to cut off the convoy, in the first instance, and to fight the enemy after. The design in part took place; and if there had been a sufficient number of frigates, (which are particularly ne-

cessary in all attacks upon convoys), the effect would have been still much more considerable. About twenty of the prizes arrived safe in England, two or three were said to be sunk, and several that struck escaped in the night.

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The French commanders were, in the mean time, collecting their fleet, and forming the line of battle. Admiral Kempenfeldt likewise, having collected his ships in the evening, and being still ignorant of their force, got upon the same tack with the enemy, under a full determination of engaging them in the morning. At day-light, perceiving them to leeward, he immediately formed the line; but discovering their force upon a nearer approach, he found the necessity of changing his resolution; and the adverse fleets after a full view of each other, seemed to part with equal consent on both sides.

Though on this occasion, near 1100 land forces, and between 600 and 700 seamen, were taken on board the prizes, and though they were otherwise laden with naval stores the most important and essential to the enemy, the public was so far from being satisfied, that the most violent clamour was raised because Admiral Kempenfeldt had not been supplied with force sufficient to have taken or destroyed the whole French fleet; and attempts were made in both Houses of Parliament to make this business a charge against the First Lord of the Admiralty. Thus, however, the French designs against the West Indies were totally frustrated, as no proper assistance could be sent to de Grasse, to enable him to preserve his superiority over the British fleets in these parts; by which means he suffered the total defeat already mentioned.

The war at this time was so extensive, and the combination against Great Britain so exceedingly great, that the island of Minorca was, of necessity left to its fate. Notwithstanding its hopeless state, however, and the vast force with which it was attacked, the Duke de Crillon descended below his dignity in attempting, by an immense sum, to bribe the brave General Murray to deliver up the place. But his offer being rejected with disdain, the siege immediately commenced. The garrison was excellently provided with salted provisions, but as many of them had lived eleven years on the island, experience shewed, that even the use of all the vegetables they could procure was not sufficient to correct the bad quality of the salt meat they daily took along with them. When, therefore,

Minorca  
invaded  
by the  
Spaniards.

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by the commencement of the siege, towards the end of August, every possibility of procuring vegetables was cut off, the scurvy began to commit the most dreadful ravages among the troops; and its progress was facilitated by their close confinement within the fortrefs, and the putrid air in the casemates and souterrains, which the violent cannonade and bombardment soon rendered the only places of safety.

The combined army of France and Spain, on this occasion, amounted to 16,000 regular troops; their artillery, to 109 heavy cannon, and 36 large mortars. The garrison amounted only to 2692 men; of which 2016 were regulars, the remainder marines, with a few Greeks and Corsicans. The fortrefs was in some respects exceedingly strong; the ditch, and all the subterraneous defences cut out of the solid rock; the great arches covering the casements were all bomb-proof, and the defences undermined; but the upper-works were in a much worse condition, and besides so numerous and extensive that double the number of the garrison would have been necessary to defend them in an effectual manner.

From the knowledge which he had of the weakness of the garrison, it probably was, that the Duke de Crillon negligently exposed himself to a surprise in his head quarters at Cape Mola, from whence he was driven by a successful sally of the garrison, who, for the present established themselves in his post, and could not be dislodged even by his whole army, till they thought proper to retire of their own accord at night, carrying along with them about 100 prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and three or four subaltern officers. This disaster was soon followed by another. The enemy having opened their bomb-batteries, a shell from the Castle happened to fall on their powder magazine, and set fire to it. The explosion entirely demolished one of the batteries, blew up a great number of men, and by the bursting of a quantity of loaded shells, produced a still greater destruction. A ship, loaded with ammunition and stores for the enemy's batteries, was also sunk by the artillery of the Castle; and these small successes, which happened in the beginning of November, contributed greatly to raise the spirits of the garrison, and dispirit the enemy, who now kept at such a wary distance, that they became a subject of derision to the British soldiers.

In a short time however, it became evident, that

there was no possibility of holding out much longer. The prodigious fire of the artillery ruined the upper-works in such a manner, that a greater number of cannon were dismounted than had almost ever been known in similar circumstances. The garrison, indeed, displayed the most astonishing magnanimity and perseverance. Numbers died on their posts; having concealed their illness to the very last, rather than be sent to the hospitals. The artillery corps distinguished themselves also in such a manner, that it became a question with military men, Whether Europe could produce a set of bombardiers and cannoneers equal to those who were employed in the defence of St Philip?—By the beginning of February, however, this brave garrison was so much reduced, that only 660 men were left fit for duty; and of these, all but 100, were so infected with the scurvy, that the physicians and surgeons declared, they could hold out only a very few days longer; and as a corroboration of their assertion, they took notice that 106 had been sent to the hospital during the three preceding days. They likewise declared, that a few days longer continuance in the defence must prove the ruin of them all; there not being the smallest possibility either of curing the sick, or even of keeping the greater number of them much longer alive, but by a speedy relief of wholesome air, and an abundant supply of fresh vegetables. For these reasons a capitulation unavoidably took place on the 5th of February; the guards having the night before amounted only to 415 men, being 170 fewer than their necessary complement.—The garrison were allowed every honour and privilege, excepting that of not being considered as prisoners of war, which the Duke de Crillon assured Governor Murray he was not at liberty to grant. The Corsicans and other foreigners, were secured in their persons, liberties, and effects, with the liberty of going where they pleased. The garrison exhibited a most melancholy spectacle, as they passed through the French and Spanish lines to lay down their arms. Six hundred worn-down and emaciated soldiers were followed by 120 of the Royal artillery, and 200 seamen; and the procession was closed by about 20 Corsicans, and a somewhat greater number of Greeks, Moors, and Turks. On laying down their arms, they exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, that “they surrendered them to God alone, and not to the enemy;” and many of the hostile troops themselves are said to have shed tears on beholding such a melancholy spectacle.

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St Philip  
capitulates  
Feb. 5.

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Final at-  
tempt of  
the Spa-  
niards on  
Gibraltar.

The joy of the king of Spain on becoming master of Minorca was extreme, which is the less to be wondered at, as his former successes had by no means been brilliant, and the plan of this expedition is said to have been entirely laid by himself. The Duke de Crillon was immediately appointed captain-general of the Spanish armies; and Don Joseph Moreno, who commanded the marine, was raised to a high rank in the naval department.—The conqueror of Minorca, however, was next appointed to the arduous task of conquering Gibraltar; and, as almost every possible invention hitherto devised had already been exhausted before that important fortress, new engines of destruction were now prepared for the occasion.—The Chevalier de Arcon, a French engineer of great reputation, struck out a new plan, so highly approved of, that the king himself is said to have taken a part in its modification or adjustment. This plan was the construction of floating batteries, of such a nature that they could neither be sunk nor fired. The former property was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of the timber which fortified their keels and bottoms; the latter by securing their sides with a thick wall of timber and cork a long time soaked in water, including a large body of wet sand between them; and the whole of such thickness that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to danger wet; and the cork, it was supposed, would act the part of a sponge in retaining the moisture. To prevent the effects of red-hot shot, the enemy most to be dreaded in the present case, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all parts of the wood, conveying water like the fluids through the solid parts of an animal body; so that, it was hoped, the shot so much dreaded would extinguish themselves in the very act of penetrating the battery. To defend them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from shot of all kinds, a hanging roof was contrived to be worked up and down at ease by springs. This was composed of a strong netting of rope-work, over which was a thick covering of wet hides; its sloping position, it was thought, would prevent the shells from lodging, and throw them off into the sea before they could take any effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon very heavy, and about half the number of spare guns were kept in readiness in each ship, to supply the place of those which might be over heated; and to render the



fire of these the more rapid and instantaneous, a kind of match was contrived to be placed on the lights of the guns, which operating with the velocity of lightning, discharged them all in a moment, as if it had been but a single shot. Ten large ships from 600 to 1400 tons burden; were cut down to the state required by the plan; and no fewer than 200,000 cubic feet of timber are said to have been worked into them, in order to complete their construction.

Besides these terrible machines, it is said that 1200 pieces of ordnance had been accumulated for the purposes of the various attacks by sea and land; forty gun-boats with heavy artillery, as many bomb-vessels with 12 inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches on the common construction. Almost all the frigates and smaller armed vessels in the kingdom were collected to administer such services as they were capable of, and 300 large boats were appointed to serve during the action, and to land troops in the place, after the fortifications should be ruined. The quantity of gun-powder used on this occasion is said to have amounted to 83,000 barrels, and the shells, shot, &c. were in proportion. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about 50 sail of the line, were to cover and support the attack, and 12,000 French troops were joined to those of Spain already before the place.

As the length of the siege, and the incredible efforts that had formerly been ineffectually made to become matters of this place, had drawn the attention of all Europe, volunteers flocked to the Spanish camp from almost every nation in this quarter of the globe. The Duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both France and Spain, and particularly by the best engineers and artillery men of his own country; and the celebrity of the scene was increased by the presence of the Duke de Artois and Duke de Bourbon, two princes of the blood of France.

The arrival of these two princes afforded room for a scene of politeness, as a prelude to the dreadful one which was to come. Some packets, containing a number of letters for the officers in the garrison, happening to be intercepted, the Duke de Artois procured them from Crillon, and sent them to General Elliot, along with a present of vegetables and fruit, for his own use, with ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household.—The General received them with the greatest politeness; but informed the duke, that he

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had invariably determined, from the commencement of the present war, to accept of no provision for his own use distinct from that of the garrison he commanded; and therefore, that every thing was publicly sold in the market, so that the meanest soldier, if he had money, might partake as well as his governor; for which reason he requested the duke not to heap more favours of the same kind on him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use. The letters on both sides may be considered as models of military politeness\*.

\* LETTERS *between the DUKE DE CRILLON and GENERAL ELLIOT.*

*Camp of Buenavista, Aug. 19, 1782.*

SIR,

His Royal Highness Comte d'Artois, who has received permission from the King his brother to assist at this siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 15th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters which had been sent to that capital from this, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison. His Royal Highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greater pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in this camp, to assure you of the high esteem I have conceived for your Excellency, of the immense desire I feel of deserving yours, and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learnt to render myself worthy of the honour of facing you as an enemy. His Highness the Duke de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem. Permit me, Dear General, to offer you a few little trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need. As I know you live entirely on vegetables, I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few partridges for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable, in the excessive heat of this climate, at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*His Excellency Gen. Elliot, &c.*

The immense preparations for the reduction of Gibraltar were completed by the middle of August 1782, CHAP. XXVIII.

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ANSWER.

*Gibraltar, Aug. 20.*

SIR,

I find myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your Excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, and the Duke de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shewn their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am really overwhelmed with the condescension of his Royal Highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages. I flatter myself that your Excellency will give my most profound respects to his Royal Highness and to the Duke de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

I return a thousand thanks to your Excellency for your handsome presents of fruit, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that in accepting your present, I have broken through a resolution which I had faithfully kept since the beginning of the war, and that was, never to receive, or procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use; so that, without any preference, every thing is sold publicly here; and the private soldier, if he has money, can become a purchaser, as soon as the governor. I confess, I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of my brave fellow-soldiers. This furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of intreating your Excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed to be plain with your Excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every one of us has got a quantity proportioned to the labour he has bestowed in raising them. The English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it, during the intervals of rest from public duty.

The promise which the Duke de Crillon makes to honour me in proper time and place, with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations. The interests of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*His Excellency the Duke de  
Crillon, &c.*

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Works of  
the Spaniards  
destroyed,  
Sept. 8.

when the French Princes arrived in the camp; and on a review and trial of the floating batteries, they are said to have given the utmost satisfaction, and attended even the most intelligent officers present, as they were made to go through all their various evolutions with the ease and dexterity of frigates. The enthusiasm which now possessed the whole army was extravagant; twenty-four hours was thought long enough to make the combined army masters of Gibraltar; and the Duke de Crillon was reckoned exceeding cautious when he said that a fortnight would be requisite for the purpose.

In the mean time, General Elliot observing that the works of the enemy were nearly completed on the land side, and some of them pretty far advanced towards the fortress, determined to try what could be done by a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, notwithstanding the distance, towards their destruction.

On the 8th of September, therefore a very hot cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, was commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued during the whole day. In three hours the Mahon battery, with another adjoining to it, were on fire, and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with the gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, although the latter were bomb-proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musquetry, were likewise destroyed; and a large battery near the bay was so much damaged, that the enemy were obliged to take down one half of it. On this occasion they acknowledged, that their works were on fire in fifty places at once; and their loss of men, though concealed in their public accounts, must undoubtedly have been very great.

In revenge, as it would seem, for this affront, a new battery of 64 heavy cannon was opened by break of day, which, with the cannon in their lines, and above 60 mortars, continued to pour their shot and shells, without intermission, on the garrison, throughout the whole day. At the same time, a Squadron of seven French and two Spanish ships of war, with some frigates and smaller vessels, cannonaded another part of the works; after which, continuing their course to Europa Point, they began a very heavy fire on that part. Here, however, they were so well received by Captain Curtis, who with a body of marines defended the place, that they were obliged to keep at a greater distance, and two of their ships were even obliged to sail

to Algeiras to repair their damages. The attacks on this point were frequently repeated, but with equally bad success; and though the enemy now fired at the rate of 6500 shot and 1080 shells every twenty-four hours, no considerable impression could be made upon any part of the works.

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At length, the fatal day arrived. On the 13th of September, about seven in the morning, the ten battering ships which had hitherto lain at the head of the Bay of Gibraltar, began to move. They were commanded by Admiral Don B. Moreno, and carried 154 pieces of very heavy cannon on their batteries, besides about half that number to be exchanged in case of accidents. The combined fleets were assembled to the number of 48 or 49 sail of the line, besides two or three fifties. Thirty-six artillery men and volunteers from the two armies were allotted to the service of each gun on board the floating batteries; so that the whole number on board was estimated at between six and seven thousand men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating battery and bomb-ketches, were to carry on the attacks in every possible direction, whilst the fire of the battering ships was directed against the highest fortifications. By this means, and the fire of near 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the Isthmus, it was intended that every part of the works being attacked at the same instant, the garrison should be thrown into such consternation as to be incapable of any effectual resistance.

Dreadful  
attack on  
the place,  
Sept. 13.

Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the battering ships came to an anchor in a straight line, at moderate distances from one another, and about 900 yards distance from the shore. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite to the king's bastion, and the others took their places successively, and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral, the surrounding hills being covered with such multitudes, as if all Spain had assembled to be witnesses of this extraordinary combat. The scene which was now exhibited exceeds description. The air was filled with showers of red-hot balls, bombs, and carcases, thrown from the fortifications to every point of attack in such numbers, that the commanders of the allied army were astonished how it was possible that General Elliot should have been able to construct or manage such a number of furnaces as were necessary to heat the vast quantities of shot thrown out at that time. In the course of the day, the battering ships, which were the principal objects of

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vengeance, received, according to their own account, not fewer than 4000 red-hot balls; the mortar-batteries were equally well served; and the whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed with the torrents of fire incessantly poured upon it. The battering ships withstood this prodigious fire to an astonishing degree, and for some time appeared to have been as invulnerable in reality as the imagination of their constructor had represented them. About two in the afternoon, however, some smoke was perceived to issue from the upper part of the admiral's ship, and soon after the men were observed using fire-engines, and pouring water into the shot-holes. Some time after, the ship next in size, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, was observed to be in the same situation; and the fire, though kept under during the day-time, could never be extinguished; so that, by the evening, the fire from the fortrefs had gained a decided superiority. By one in the morning, the two first ships were in flames, and several others evidently on fire; the utmost confusion every where prevailed, and a number of rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. These were instantly answered by the fleet; and a great number of boats were sent to bring off the men as quickly as possible; for, as to the ships themselves, they were now abandoned to their fate. Indeed, even this was now become a most arduous task, as well on account of the dreadful and incessant fire from the garrison, as from the guns of the burning ships themselves.

This state of things presented an opportunity for the exercise of the daring genius of Captain Curtis, in using the exertions of his gun-boats to complete the general confusion and destruction. These were twelve in number, and each carrying an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, their low fire and fixed aim were not a little formidable. They were speedily manned by the marine brigade, who were equally eager to second the designs of their adventurous commander, whether by land or by sea. He drew these up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships, which were now equally overwhelmed by the incessant direct fire from the garrison, and by that just at hand, raking the whole extent of their line from the gun-boats. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach, and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity

of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity, and one in particular with fourscore men on board, who were all drowned excepting an officer and twelve men, who, having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison.

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It seemed that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of day-light disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal though less dreadful danger from the opposite element.

The generous humanity of the victors now, at least, equalled their extraordinary preceding achievements of valour, and was to them far more glorious. Every effort was now made to save their vanquished enemies from perishing. Nor were these exertions by any means attended with less danger, nor with circumstances less terrible in the appearance, than those of active hostility. The boats were equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heated. It was indeed a noble enterprise; and a more striking instance of the ardour and boldness with which it was supported needs not be given than that of an officer and 29 private men, all severely, and some most dreadfully wounded, who were dragged out from among the slain in the holds of the burning ships, and most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

In these extraordinary efforts to save an enemy from destruction, though the most astonishing intrepidity was shewn by all the officers and men, yet their gallant commander was peculiarly distinguished, and his life was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. Captain Curtis himself, with his pinnace, came up close to one of the largest burning vessels, which at that moment blew up, and his escape was almost miraculous. The cockswain and some of the crew, however, were killed, others wounded, and a large piece of timber went through the bottom of the pinnace, in such a manner that she was only preserved from sinking by the seamen stuffing the hole with their jackets, and thus keeping her above water until other boats arrived to her assistance. Another gun-boat was sunk at the same instant,

Humanity  
of Captain  
Curtis.

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and a third with difficulty saved. Admiral Moreno left his flag flying when he left his ship, in which state it continued till the vessel was either sunk or blown up. Eight others blew up in the course of the day with dreadful explosions, and the tenth was burned by the English, when they found she could not be brought off. The loss sustained by the Spaniards in this dreadful adventure cannot be ascertained; though it is generally supposed that no less than 1500 perished in the attack by sea, including the prisoners and wounded; about 400 were saved by the exertions of the British sailors. The carnage, however, was terrible. A letter from a French officer, giving an account of what had happened on the 8th of September, will furnish us with some idea of the great slaughter of the 13th. "The eye," says he, "is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sighs and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man shudder; and I am told, that, in other parts of the lines, at a distance from my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not at this instant leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

The loss on the side of the garrison was less than could have been conceived, and was nearly confined to the artillery corps, and to the marine brigade. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to 65 only; the wounded to 388. Nor was the damage done to the works so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory, obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and by land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who spared no expence, labour, or exertion of art, for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparation.—A victory which has shed a signal blaze of glory over the whole garrison, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of General Elliot, and to hand down to posterity with distinguished honour those of the other principal officers.

This complete victory decided the fate of Gibraltar; no further attempts were made to reduce the place by force; the only forlorn hope of the enemy remaining in its reduction by famine. Before we give an account



of their final disappointment here, however, it will be necessary to say something of the manner in which the war was conducted in the European seas, from the time of Sir Hyde Parker's engagement with Admiral Zoutman. Though at that time the victory indisputably belonged to the British the obstinate valour displayed by the Dutchmen shewed them to be an enemy by no means contemptible; and that a junction of their force with the combined fleets of France and Spain would probably render them an overmatch for that of Britain. In the beginning of the year 1782, therefore, great boasts were made of the exploits to be performed by the united naval force of these three mighty powers; and it was said that they would sweep the coasts of Europe from the straits of Gibraltar to the extremities of Norway. The junction of the Hollanders with the rest, however, was prevented by a British fleet, which confined them in their own ports, though at the same time the force requisite for this purpose very considerably diminished that which was left to cope with the fleets of France and Spain. Though the plan of operations, therefore, was at this time necessarily defensive, the spirit of enterprize was by no means extinguished, on every occasion where an advantage could possibly be taken.

On the 13th of April, Admiral Barrington set sail from Portsmouth to the Bay, with 12 ships of the line, on a cruize, which, though short, was very successful. On the 20th he fell in with a fleet consisting of 18 sail, laden with stores, provisions, ammunition, and conveying considerable number of troops, for the supply and reinforcement of the French fleet and forces in the East Indies; being particularly designed to supply the loss of that convoy which had been taken by Admiral Kempenfeldt in the preceding winter. They had sailed from Brest only the day before, and were under the protection of the *Protecteur* and *Pegase*, of 74 guns each, *L'Actionnaire*, of 64 guns, but armed *en flute*, and a frigate. A general chase having been ordered, the *Foudroyant*, Captain Jarvis, came up with the *Pegase* of 74 guns, and took her, after a very obstinate engagement, in which he himself was wounded; and in which he shewed so much professional skill and gallantry, that the order of the Bath was immediately conferred on him. Next day the *Actionnaire* was taken by Captain Maitland of the *Queen*. About a dozen ships of the convoy, with troops on board, were also captured, and brought safe to England.

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April 13.

Admiral

Barrington takes

13 French

transports

Captain

Jarvis the

*Foudroyant*

of 74

and Capt.

Maitland

the *Pegase*

of 74 guns

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May 3.

Lord Howe  
sails to the  
coast of  
Holland.

Part of the  
Newfound  
land and  
Quebec  
fleets tak-  
en by the  
French  
and Spaniards  
June 25.

Safe arri-  
val of the  
Jamaica  
fleet.

On Admiral Barrington's being forced back by bad weather, Admiral Kempenfeldt, with eight or nine ships of war, was sent out to take his place; but, in the mean time, advice being received that the Dutch were preparing with their whole force to leave the Texel, in order to accomplish the grand scheme of joining the combined fleets, Lord Howe, who under a new administration (of which afterwards) had again entered into the service, was obliged, in about a week after Kempenfeldt's departure, to proceed with 12 sail of the line from Portsmouth to the coasts of Holland, in order to confine their fleet at home. Before this time, however, they had sailed; but the approach of the English fleet obliged them to return to the Texel, from whence, after being watched about a month, the English admiral, finding his squadron very sickly, and affected with an epidemical distemper, returned to England, where he was soon after joined by the ships under Admiral Kempenfeldt; and every method was taken to oppose the designs of the enemy, whose combined fleet was every moment expected in the Channel. But before this could be put in execution, M. de Guichen having sailed from Cadiz, in company with Don Cordova, with about 25 sail of the line, fell in with the outward-bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, under the convoy of Admiral Campbell, with a 50 gun ship, and some frigates. Eighteen of the convoy, laden mostly, if not entirely, with provisions, were taken; but the ships of war, with the remainder, had the good fortune to escape.

The enemy being now masters of the sea, great apprehensions were entertained on account of the safety of a rich and valuable convoy from Jamaica, under the care of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, with only three ships of the line for its protection. To ensure this valuable fleet, Lord Howe sailed from Portsmouth early in July, accompanied by the Admirals Barrington, Sir John Lockart Ross, and Kempenfeldt. But as these commanders had only 22 sail of the line, and the fleet of the enemy was now increased to double that number, it required no small share of that professional skill, for which Lord Howe is so much distinguished, to avoid an engagement, which, under such disadvantage, even he did not chuse to risk. By keeping to the westward, however, the designs of the enemy were totally frustrated; Sir Peter Parker arrived safe with his convoy by the end of July; and the Dutch fleet still continued unable to join the French and Spaniards.

On the return of the fleet to Portsmouth, the great objects were, to protect the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, to prevent the Dutch from sailing to the southward, and to relieve Gibraltar. Several of those ships which were in the best condition for going to sea, therefore, proceeded to the Downs under Admiral Milbanke, for the purpose of watching the motions of the Dutch, while the rest of the fleet remained at Portsmouth in order to undergo the necessary repairs. In this state of things, it was found necessary, that the Royal George of 108 guns, commanded by Admiral Kempenfeldt, and long held to be the first ship in the British navy, should receive a sort of slight careen, which required her to be laid on her side, in order to examine her defects under water. This was undertaken on the 29th of August 1782, early in the morning. A gang of carpenters from the dock attended in order to assist her own; and it is said, that finding it necessary to strip off more of her sheathing than was at first expected, their eagerness to come at the leak induced them to keel her more than had been intended, or possibly than her commanders were made acquainted with. The ship was crowded with people from the shore, particularly women, who, at that time, were not reckoned fewer than 300; and between 800 and 900 of her crew, including marines, were at that time on board. In this situation, about ten in the morning, the admiral being writing in his cabin, and much the greater part of the people between decks, a sudden squall of wind threw the ship on her side; and her gun-ports being open, she almost instantly filled with water, and sunk to the bottom. On this melancholy occasion, betwixt 900 and 1000 people perished with the admiral\*; a victualler, which lay along-side the

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Loss of the  
Royal  
George,  
and death  
of Ad.  
Kempen-  
feldt,  
August 29.

\* Admiral Kempenfeldt, though near 70 years of age, was peculiarly and universally lamented. He was held, both abroad and at home, to be, in point of professional science, knowledge, and judgment, one of the first naval officers in the world; particularly in the art of manœuvring a fleet, he was considered by our greatest commanders as unrivalled; and his excellent qualities as a man, at least equalled his professional merits as an officer. His father was a Swedish gentleman, who, coming early into the English service, generously followed the ruined fortunes of his master, James II. Being recalled by Queen Anne, after the death of that unfortunate Monarch, and serving with distinction in her wars, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and was, at the time of his death, lieutenant-governor of

CH A P. Royal George, was swallowed up by the vortex occasioned by her going down; and several small craft, though at some distance, were in imminent danger.

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Ld. Howe  
fails to re-  
lieve Gib-  
raltar.

In the mean time the Dutch fleet having returned to the Texel, and our Baltic fleet being so nearly arrived as to be out of danger, the Squadron which had been dispatched on these services under Admiral Milbanke and Commodore Hotham, returned to accompany the fleet destined to relieve Gibraltar. This fleet, of which Lord Howe was commander in chief, now consisted of 34 sail of the line, several frigates, fire-ships, a large fleet of transports, victuallers, and store-ships, with a body of troops on board, for the relief of that garrison. He was accompanied by the Admirals Milbanke and Sir R. Hughes, Commodore Hotham, and many other brave and able officers.

Oct. 10.

The Spaniards, as we have already hinted, had placed their last hope of becoming masters of Gibraltar on the defeat of this fleet; or at any rate, on preventing the intended relief, and thereby reducing the unconquered garrison to the necessity of a surrender, through the mere failure of ammunition and provisions. Before Lord Howe could arrive at the place of his destination, however the violent attack and discomfiture already mentioned had taken place, and the combined fleet had stationed itself in the bay of Gibraltar, in order to prevent the intended succours. A violent gale of wind, on the 10th of October, did much damage to the enemy; and the St Michael, a fine Spanish ship of 72 guns, was driven ashore, and taken by the garrison; nor was the utmost vehemence of fire which the whole fleet was able to pour upon her sufficient either to destroy her, or prevent the English from getting her off.

Oct. 11.

Next morning, the British fleet entered the straits mouth, in a close line of battle a-head; and about an hour after night, the van arrived off the bay of Gibraltar, a most favourable opportunity was afforded to the store-ships of reaching their destined anchorage, without any molestation from the enemy; but through some inattention of the captains to the peculiar circumstances of the navigation laid down in their instructions, only four of the 31 sail which accompanied the fleet effected their purpose. The rest, having missed the bay, were

the island of Jersey. That gentleman's private character was so admirable, as to be depicted and immortalized by Addison, in the Spectators—where it has ever been admired under the well known appellation of Captain Sentry.

driven through the straits into the Mediterranean during the night, and were no small encumbrance to the fleet in its subsequent operations.

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While Lord Howe was collecting his convoy in the Mediterranean, and preparing to escort them back to the rock, the enemy were under no small anxiety for the safety of the two line of battle ships, which had been driven from Algeiras out of the straits on the night of the storm. To recover these, and in the hope of intercepting, or preventing the return of the store-ships, the combined fleets sailed from Algeiras on the 13th; their force being now lessened, by three disabled ships which they were obliged to leave behind, by the St Michael taken, and by the absence of two others.

The British fleet was a-breast of Fungarola, a large port town lying between Malaga and Gibraltar, when advice was received of the approach of the enemy. Upon this intelligence, while the fleet was closing, and forming a line of battle, the Buffalo of 60 guns, was detached with those store-ships which had yet been collected, to the Zafarine islands, which lie upon the coast of Barbary, about sixty leagues above Gibraltar. The Panther, of the same force, being left in the bay of Gibraltar, for the protection, as they arrived, of the store-ships, Lord Howe's force now only amounted to 32 sail of the line.

About sun-set, the enemy were descried in great force, at about six leagues distance, in line of battle, with a strong wind full in their favour, and bearing directly down upon the English fleet. They amounted in number to 64 sail, of which 49 were square rigged, and about 42 seemed to be of the line, including several very large three-deckers. About nine o'clock, advice was received from the advanced frigates that the enemy had hauled their wind and bore up; and, at two in the morning, that they had tacked. By day-light, they were perceived close in with the land, and at such a distance as not to be visible from the deck. It would seem, that during that time they had recovered the two missing ships.

It was discovered in the morning, that several of the transports had not gone with the Buffalo on the preceding evening, and that several others had joined the fleet in the night. On this account the wind happening to become favourable, the fleet proceeded in order of battle towards the mouth of the straits, and passed 18 of the convoy safe to Gibraltar bay.—By the

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18th, the vessels under the convoy of the Buffalo, having joined the fleet, were sent into Gibraltar; two regiments, which were on board the ships of war and frigates, were likewise landed; and a scarcity of ammunition in the garrison, which seems not to have been provided for, was remedied by Lord Howe's sending in a supply of 1500 barrels of powder from the fleet.

During the performance of these essential services, the combined fleets of the enemy never once came in sight; but, at the break of day on the 19th, the British fleet being then in the entrance of the gut, and enclosed between the opposite points of Europa and Ceuta, they appeared at no great distance, to the north-east. The British commander saw that it would be the highest imprudence and rashness to hazard an action in the gut. There was not sufficient room for forming the line of battle; much less for the evolutions which might be necessary in the course of an engagement. The danger arising in such circumstances, from the vicinity of the enemy's coasts, was not an object of less consideration than their superiority in number and force. In these circumstances, Lord Howe repassed the straits into the Atlantic, and was followed by the enemy. On the following morning, they were perceived, at about five leagues distance, to windward. The English fleet formed in order of battle to leeward, to receive them; and the enemy had it in their power, during the greater part of the day, to have chosen their time of action as well as their distance. At sunset, they began a cannonade on the van and rear of the British fleet; but generally at such a distance as to produce little effect; the fire being occasionally returned by different ships as they at times approached within reach. This firing was held in such contempt by Lord Howe, that he did not return a single shot from his own ship, the Victory, although she was fired at by several, and at one time by three ships.

The enemy, however, perceiving a part of the rear a good deal separated from the rest, made a bolder attempt upon that division. The French and Spanish admirals, M. de Guichen and Don Cordova, led the attack upon the separated ships, which, reserving themselves till they were within a near distance, threw in so well-timed, so heavy, and so admirably directed a fire upon them, which was supported with such spirit and effect, that the enemy were soon thrown into evident confusion, and their leading ships suffered some considerable apparent damage. Don Cordova, in par-

ticular, was thrown all-aback ; and the enemy hauling their wind, gave up the object entirely ; the cannonade ended about ten o'clock ; and the combined fleets being at a considerable distance in the morning, and, to appearance, on their return to Cadiz, Lord Howe proceeded on his way to England.

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This distant fire, as usual, did a good deal of damage to the yards and rigging of several of the English ships, so that if Lord Howe had even been disposed to pursue the enemy on the following morning, he could not have so done. The great service of relieving Gibraltar was his object ; and this was, in the face of all Europe, most happily and gloriously performed, under such circumstances of inferiority in force, as not only fully to support, but highly to exalt, our naval renown, and the honour of the British flag. The British commander, besides, had other important services still to provide for. He detached eight ships of the line to the West-Indies, and six to the coasts of Ireland, on his way home ; neither of which, or at least the former, could probably have been done, if a forced action (and which, from its nature, could not be decisive) had taken place.

Thus the naval war in Europe seemed to be brought to a conclusion ; nor was there much probability, after what had happened, that the combined fleets, however superior in number, would venture a close engagement with that of Britain. The West-Indies, therefore, was now the only theatre of action. Though Lord Rodney's victory over de Grasse had effectually ruined the intended project on Jamaica, it had not totally annihilated the power of the enemy in those parts. The Bahama Islands were attacked by Don Juan de Cagigal, governor-general of the island of Cuba, with three frigates, and 60 sail of transports, on board of which were 2500 troops. As Colonel Maxwell, the governor of Providence, had only about 170 invalids to oppose an armament amounting, by sea and land, to above 5000 men, there could be no doubt of Don Juan's success.—The governor capitulated on the 8th of May 1782, and received very favourable conditions, though absolutely at the discretion of the conqueror.

Bahama  
Islands re-  
duced by  
the Spani-  
ards.

M. de Vaudreuil, some time before his departure with the remainder of the beaten fleet from Cape Francois to North America, also concerted an expedition, purely predatory, against the remote possessions and property of the Hudson's Bay Company, shut up as they were among the frozen regions of the north, and approachable only through obscure straits and gulphs,

May 8.

C H A P. which were little known, excepting to those peculiarly  
XXVIII. concerned in that trade, and only for a small part of  
the year navigable even by them.

1782.

May 31.

M. de la Perouse, in the *Sceptre* of 74 guns, with two 36 gun frigates, was appointed to conduct this expedition; having on board about 300 soldiers and artillery men, with some mortars and cannon, for the supposed sieges they were to undertake. This small squadron sailed from Cape François on the 31st of May 1782, and did not arrive at the islands of Resolution, which mark the entrance of Hudson's Straits, until the 17th of July. From thence they began to experience the difficulties and dangers of the voyage. Notwithstanding the power of the sun at that season, they had scarcely proceeded 20 leagues up the straits, when the ships were so fast locked up in the ice, that the seamen went on foot from one to the other. Things then appeared so hopeless, that M. de Perouse had formed a determination, as soon as they got clear of the present difficulty, to send the *Sceptre*, with one of the frigates, back to the West Indies, and of wintering himself, with the other frigate, and a part of the troops, in the bay, in order to be at hand to destroy the English settlements, as soon as the opening of the season in the ensuing year would admit of their operations. It happened fortunately for M. de la Perouse and his people, that so severe a trial of their constancy was prevented, by the appearance of a small opening in the ice two days after, through which, with a press of sail, and no small danger to the ships, they forced their way; and, on the 8th of August, were happy in discovering the English colours flying on the Fort Prince of Wales, upon the Churchill River, which was their first and principal object.

The Company possess six of those buildings, which are called *forts*, in Hudson's Bay, being in reality factories, erected at the mouths of the principal rivers; the buildings being necessarily strong, as well to guard against the climate as against other dangers, and furnished with artillery to command respect with the various nations of savages, who come from the remotest parts to dispose of their furs and peltry: But they had not a single soldier in all these forts; and the whole number of storekeepers, clerks, and servants of every denomination, which they maintain at so many stations, did not exceed 120, at the utmost.

The Fort Prince of Wales and Fort York, as might be expected, surrendered at discretion. After which



the French commanders, apprehensive of the danger of their situation, immediately set out, about the end of August, on their return to Europe; bringing with them the nominal governors and garrisons of the forts they had taken; whose names and number M. de la Perouse, however, abstains from specifying. It was almost singular, that two of the Company's ships, and a sloop, which was then in the bay, had the fortune of escaping the enemy, and of returning safe to Europe. The French estimate the damage done to the Hudson's Bay Company in this expedition at about half a million sterling.

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These successes were only balanced on the part of Britain by the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Logwood shores in the Bay of Honduras. Ever since the time that Fort Omoa had again fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and the fatal expedition from Jamaica to the River St Juan, where several thousands of the Royal forces, as well as of the natives, perished by the unwholesome air of the country, the enemy taking advantage of the weakness of the British, had made great encroachments upon them, and, indeed, almost driven them entirely out. They had gained the island of Rattan, the old possessions on the Black River, Fort Dalling on Cape River, and many other important posts in different parts of the country. This year, however, finding themselves in danger of being totally expelled, the Bay-men, naturally bold and resolute, determined to turn the tables on their enemies. A Captain Campbell, one of the settlers, had, at the head of 150 negroes, exceedingly harrassed and molested the enemy, in their posts; and encouraged by continual successes in his skirmishes, he at last made an attempt on Fort Dalling, which he carried by a furious assault in the night; 65 of the Spaniards being laid dead on the spot, a considerable number wounded and made prisoners, and 40 having the good luck to make their escape. Eight pieces of cannon, one oohorn, some small arms and ammunition, with the colours, fell into the hands of the victors.

Encouraged by these successes, a scheme was formed for expelling the Spaniards entirely. A small army was collected at Cape Gracias a Dios, under a Major Campbell, probably the same with the Captain above mentioned. His forces consisted of 80 American rangers, 500 shore-men, and 600 Musquito Indians; but Lieutenant-Colonel Despard, happening to arrive at this juncture from Jamaica, was, by the unanimous consent

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of all parties, elected their leader. Their success was equal to the spirit with which their scheme was adopted. The Spanish forces, consisting of 715 privates, and commanded by 27 officers, were quickly obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, on condition of being transmitted to Omoa upon their parole, till they were exchanged, and even then not to serve against any part of the Musquito Shore during the war. The forts, and every thing belonging to them, fell into the hands of the conquerors. In these were found, besides the property of the inhabitants, now recovered, 25 pieces of artillery, 1000 firelocks, and a competent quantity of ammunition.

Dutch settlements in Africa reduced.

The year 1782 was also marked by the conquest of the Dutch settlements on the coast of Africa. The fort of Acra, with four others, mounting in all 124 pieces of cannon, were taken by Captain Shirley of the *Leander*, a 50 gun ship, without any land forces, and the assistance only of the *Alligator* sloop of war. Soon after being joined by Lieutenant Cartwright of the *Argo* frigate, the principal fort Commenda was attacked, and quickly reduced, though defended by 32 pieces of cannon, two mortars, and as many howitzers; by which the power of the Dutch on the African continent was totally annihilated.

Miserable fate of Ad. Rodney's prizes.

None of these successes, however, were capable of balancing the dreadful disaster which now befel the prize-ships taken by Admiral Rodney. That unfortunate fleet, as we have already observed, had been carried by the conqueror to Jamaica, where they remained from the month of April to the 26th of July. It then consisted of nine ships of the line, the *Pallas* frigate of 36 guns, and about 100 sail of merchantmen, all under the conduct of Admiral Graves in the *Ramillies* of 74 guns. Before they got clear of the island, however, the ships of the line were reduced to seven; the *Ardent* having sprung a leak, was protested against by the officers; and the *Jason*, another ship of the same force (64 guns), was detained from some other cause. The admiral was bound to steer farther to the northward, in order to see some of the convoy safe in their way to New York. None of the ships were in very good condition; but the *Hector*, a French prize of 74 guns, was particularly bad, not being above half manned, and her masts, sails, and rigging, in a very shattered condition. Hard gales came on about the 8th of September, which distressed the *Caton*, another French

prize of 64 guns, as well as the Pallas frigate, so much, CHAP.  
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that they were both obliged to put into Halifax.

This, however, was only a slight prelude to what was coming on. For on the 16th, in the afternoon, the fleet, still little short of 90 sail, were attacked, off the banks of Newfoundland, by a violent gale, which by degrees increased in strength equal to the hurricanes in warm climates. The storm at first blew from E. S. E. but at three in the morning it shifted, in a moment, to N. N. W. exceeding in violence even what had been known in the tropical regions; and what was worse, this wind was accompanied with such a violent rain, that it was not possible to face the weather, even when the greatest exertions of the seamen were called for. A dreadful scene of tempest and shipwreck was disclosed in the morning; numbers of miserable wretches floating in the sea, and clinging to pieces of wreck, without any possibility of affording them the smallest relief. The Ramillies, though by no means in bad condition, and excellently manned, held out only to the 21st. Having then about 15 feet water in her hold, the admiral thought it necessary to dispose of her men on board those merchantmen, amounting to 19 in number, that were still able to keep in company; after which she was set on fire so effectually, that she blew up a few minutes after the captain had quitted her. The Centaur, Captain Inglefield, after being overset, righted again with such a shock as loosened her guns, broke the masts and rudder, and reduced her to such a situation that no possibility of escape seemed to remain. Most of the people, abandoning themselves to despair, perished quietly with the ship; but Captain Inglefield, with eleven others, got into the yawl, and after the most miserable voyage of 16 days ever recorded in history, in which, however, only one man died, reached the harbour of Fayal in safety. The Glorieux and Ville de Paris foundered, without any person being saved, excepting a single man, named Wilson, who was insensible when taken up, and remembered nothing on his recovery, but that he had seen the Glorieux sink the day before the Ville de Paris; and that when the latter was going down, he clung to a piece of wreck, in which state he was taken up. The Hector, the worst in condition of the whole, outlived the storm, and even beat off the Eagle and La Gloire, two of the largest and finest frigates in the French service, who happening to meet with her on the 5th of September, fell on her at once in her distressed situation.—

1782.  
Sept. 16.

C H A P. In this action, however, the Hector received so much  
XXVIII. damage, that she must undoubtedly have perished with  
all that was in her, had not the Hawk Snow, Captain  
Hill, fortunately fallen in with her, whose humane  
captain threw overboard great part of his cargo, to  
accommodate her people, in number about 200, and  
even then was in the utmost danger of perishing for  
want of water sufficient to so great a number.

1782.

Such was the hard fortune to which the fleet from  
Jamaica was at this time doomed. Of the seven ships  
of the line which composed the squadron, the Canada  
and Caton only escaped. The Ramillies, Ville de  
Paris, Centaur, La Glorieux, and Hector, all perished,  
besides a very considerable number of merchant ships.

C H A P. XXIX.

*East Indies—War with the King of Tanjore, which is reduced by General Smyth, and the Rajah taken prisoner—General Smyth blamed, acquitted, and thanked—War with the Rohillas, who are defeated—Cruelty of Suja Dowla—Duel between General Clavering and Mr Barwell—Death of Suja—Revolution at Madras—Deposition, imprisonment, and death of Lord Pigot—Resolutions of the India Company and House of Commons—Trials of Messrs Stratton, General Stewart, &c.*

SUCH was the event of the war in the western world. Three great battles had, in Europe, on the continent of America, and in the West Indies, rendered it in a manner impossible for the contending parties to carry on the war longer in these parts. Whilst a state of inaction, therefore, ensued in the West, it now remains for us to take a view of what passed in the eastern part of the globe.—Here it is hard to say, whether Great Britain has suffered most from the power and exertions, of her enemies, or from the peculation, treachery, and cruelty of those whom she had sent out, at different times, to conduct her affairs in that remote corner of the world.

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1771.

East Indies

It may appear almost needless to make any observation upon the difficulty of coming at the bare and undisguised truth, in the violence of faction, and amid the rage of contending parties, even when their sphere of action is confined to our own country. How much

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1771.

War with  
the King  
of Tan-  
jore.

then must the difficulty increase, when the scene is laid in the remotest parts of the globe, from whence no disinterested evidence can be obtained, where every person is under a necessity of chusing his side, and of course imbibing, in a greater or lesser degree, the violence, prejudices, and animosity of his party? In these circumstances, a short sketch of those distant and controverted affairs is all that can be reasonably attempted. We shall begin with the East India Company's quarrel with the king of Tanjore.

Tanjore is a small state, bounded on the north by the Company's nabob of Arcot, and on the east by the sea, from which it stretches about 100 miles inland; its breadth on the sea coast is about 90 miles; and in that space the English, Dutch, French, and Danes, had each of them a settlement. The king of Tanjore had ever been a firm and valuable ally to the English. During the whole French war, which is commonly called Dupleix's, he strenuously supported Britain, and their nabob Mahommed Ally, against the French and their nabob; and by refusing to supply Lally with money and troops, which were to have been employed against Madras, he may be said to have saved not only that place, but all the British possessions in India.

This is the prince whom the government of Madras now attacked, on the very same pretext as the French used for attacking him under Lally; namely, some obsolete claim of tribute due to the Company's nabob of Arcot. Though even that was but a pretended plea; for the following is said to be the true cause of this war:—The governor and council of Madras being aware that they would be dismissed from their office, on account of a very insolent answer returned by them to a haughty letter received from the directors, were resolved to complete their fortunes by a sudden stroke; and as the usual expedient of these governors in such cases is to commence a war against one neighbouring prince, which, affords the immediate opportunity of speculation, and the future prospect of plunder, the present choice happened to fall on the king of Tanjore; for this, among other reasons, that having long governed his small commercial dominions with great prudence, he was reckoned to be exceeding rich.

About the middle of July 1771, the British army began to assemble at Trichinopoly. On the 31st, they took the field, with about 10,000 men, Europeans and sepoys included, under the command of General Jo-

seph Smyth, and the nabob's second son, Modal ul Mulch. In six days, they came before Vellum, a strong fort belonging to the king of Tanjore. The General summoned the fort to surrender, which the enemy refused; and the next day he took possession of their petta, being the outskirts of the garrison. The day following the king of Tanjore's horse, about 6000, stormed his camp to no purpose, as every man who rode in forgot ever to return. He took advantage of this success to carry on his approaches; but, as soon as he opened a battery of two 18 and four 24 pounders, they evacuated the garrison.

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1771.  
Vellum  
taken.

After garrisoning this fort, he marched on to Tanjore. The march is but small, as the difference is but four Malabar miles, equal to seven of ours. The 26th of September, he took possession of their petta, without any resistance. He broke ground the 29th, and erected an eight-gun battery, consisting of 18 and 24 pounders. The 30th, the enemy stormed it, took it, and burnt all the bastions and gabions, before he could get in our guns. The next day, there was ordered a covering party, with a battalion of sepoys, who retook the ground, raised a battery a second time, got in the guns, and began to knock off the defences of the walls.

Tanjore  
reduced.

The 1st of October, the General got an account of their whole force being in motion; he therefore gave orders to have one field-officer, which was Major Vaughan, and a brigade of guns, to march down to the relief of the trenches. At day-break, the enemy were discovered, drawn up rather irregular, consisting of about 6000 horse, sepoys and colliers, the whole amounting to about 13,000. He had no more at this time than about 1000 sepoys and 150 Europeans. About ten o'clock, they began the attack upon the left very desperate, as it was their last push. The Major not thinking his force sufficient, sent express to camp for the grenadiers, who did not arrive until one o'clock.

After this, approaches were carried on to the cross of the glacis, and a sap battery opened. But the day following, contrary to expectation, the place was carried with little bloodshed, the besieged being unable to make any stand, though they had 30,000 fighting men; and the rajah, upon getting proper assurances of his life, surrendered with all his attendants.

Rajah taken prisoner.

During the siege, 7 British officers were killed, and 15 wounded; the loss of privates equally moderate. The captains who were at the siege, it is said, received

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about 800*l.* sterling each of prize-money, and each subaltern officer about 400*l.* The Company were to have a tribute of 100 lacks of rupees for being put in possession of Tanjore, and of 50 lacks of rupees from Sujah Dula, for being allowed to take possession of the provinces of Korah and Alahabad, in which the Company were to protect him, on his paying the military expences. Indeed, it seemed to be necessary that some advantages should be got to the East India Company, in order to induce them to pass over the cruelties and injustice perpetrated by their servants; though it is hardly possible to find any apology for the enormities which it would appear had been committed.

1774.  
April 28.

At a court of the proprietors of East India Stock, April 28, 1774, General Richard Smith moved, That the court should return thanks to General Joseph Smyth, for his gallant behaviour in the attack and capture of Tanjore in the East Indies. He was seconded by Mr Arme. The motion was strongly opposed by Governor Johnstone, Mr Fitzgerald, and a few others. Some condemned the measure, though they approved of the manner in which it was executed. Others seemed willing to return general thanks, or to barely confine it to the capture of Tanjore alone; while a third seemed inclined to declare their approbation of his military conduct but censured his giving up the rajah, who had thrown himself under his protection, to the nabob's second son, with whom, if living, he was now a prisoner at Trichinopoly. This, of course, gave rise to a general scrutiny into his conduct in his military and civil character, as commander in chief, and one of the council; and several direct as well as oblique charges against him, having fallen in the course of the debate, a compromise took place, with consent of all parties, that the motion should lie over till some further accounts shall be received from that country.

General  
Smyth ac-  
cused of  
cruelty at  
Marrawa.

When Sir Robert Fletcher related some of the facts relative to the slaughter of the inhabitants of Marrawa, by a detachment from the army commanded by General Joseph Smyth, but under the immediate direction of Colonel Bonjour, several of the proprietors quitted the court and the strongest marks of a mixture of horror, pity, and amazement, were visible in the countenances of those who staid to hear that shocking narrative. The story related by Sir Robert Fletcher was in substance as follows:—General Smyth having marched at the head of the British troops, in conjunction with one of the nabobs, against a rajah of that country, the latter



sent a messenger with certain offers or conditions, which were accepted of by the former. The messenger accordingly returned to the rajah, and informed him of the success of his embassy. Relying on this assurance, the rajah called in his advanced posts, all thoughts of hostilities were laid aside, and he looked upon himself in the most peaceful security. In the mean time Colonel Bonjour advanced with his detachment, and surprised the prince and his army, who were consequently unprepared, and put every one of them to the sword without distinction, except the unhappy princesses, daughters of the Rajah, who were preserved only to gratify the brutal lusts of the inhuman butcher and ravisher, the Nabob. He added, that the officers concerned in this bloody business had extorted a previous promise from the Nabob's son, that if they should happen to be successful in this enterprise, he was to give them a largess of 50,000 pagodas, worth about 24,000 l.; but being afterwards unwilling to comply with this agreement, for the faithful performance of which he had given a bond, the general being appealed to as to its equity, confirmed the agreement, and decided in favour of the officers. General Smith did not attempt to defend his namesake's decision, but said, the massacre was occasioned by mistake, the courier dispatched to Colonel Bonjour not arriving time enough to advertise him of the armistice.

As to the deflowering the daughters of the Rajah, he said, that was a claim established by the usages of the East; that the Nabob has a right to the persons of the daughters of his tributaries or subordinate princes, from the Great Mogul downwards.

At a court, May 19, General Richard Smith, after prefacing his intent with a declaratory wish, that the character and conduct of his friend might be inquired into with impartiality, and censured or approved as the evidence resulting from authenticated facts should afford scope for censure or approbation, moved as a question, Whether the conduct of General Joseph Smyth, as an officer in the Company's service, had been such as to deserve the censure of that honourable court? After some trifling altercation, the court resolved unanimously, "That General Joseph Smyth's conduct as an officer, had not been such as to deserve censure."

General Richard Smith then, professing himself warmly attached to the interest of his absent friend, and anxious to clear his character from the slightest imputation, observed, That to determine a brave and experienced officer's conduct, barely "not deserving of cen-

C H A P.  
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1774.

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1774.

sure," was not sufficient exculpation in the eye of military justice. The clearance of aspersion must go farther; it must determine General Joseph Smyth, not merely undeserving of censure, but meriting applause; for between negative innocence and positive merit, the line was considerable. General Richard Smith therefore moved, "That the thanks of the court should be returned to General Joseph Smyth."

In this motion he was seconded by Mr Orme; but opposed by Mr Mackworth, who desired, that a letter from General Joseph Smyth, addressed to the Presidency of Madras, and thence transmitted to the directors, might be read. Which being complied with, Mr Mackworth, from a copy he held in his hand, argued, That so far from thanks, the censure, if not execration, of the court, should fall on General Joseph Smyth; that the plunder of Tanjore, the murder of the Rajah, the imprisonment of his daughters, the defilement, by violence, committed on them by the Nabob, who afterwards confined them with the rest of his women in his harem or seraglio; the infraction of the treaty, which expressly provided against the plunder of Tanjore; the stipulation with the Nabob, and non-performance of articles on which that stipulation was founded; all these, and a variety of other particulars, admitted, though palliated, in General Joseph Smyth's own letter, would justify, Mr Mackworth said, the harshest censure being passed on any man's conduct, who, from his station of commander in chief, should connive at, if not abet, measures so repugnant to the faith of treaty, so debasing to military honour, so abhorrent to the rights of nature, and opposite to the fundamental dictates of humanity.

To this it was replied, That the plunder of Tanjore happened by mistake, the agreement to abstain from that plunder not being properly announced to the several officers. For the murder of the Rajah, and the rapes committed on his daughters by the Nabob, no excuse was alledged but Asiatic custom.

On the whole, General Joseph Smyth was entirely exculpated from every charge reflecting on his military character or conduct. Sir Robert Fletcher, melted with tenderness, had nothing to alledge against him; and thus, purged from every supposed criminality by the mediatorial good offices of his friends, a general court held at the India House, in Leadenhall-street, on Thursday, May 19, 1774, resolved, "That the mili-

tary conduct of General Joseph Smyth deserved the thanks of a general court," composed of Englishmen.

Another scene of cruelty and oppression was soon after exhibited in India.—The Rohillas, a harmless inoffensive people, possessed of a rich country and great wealth, were marked out for destruction by the Mahrattas. The Rohillas applied to the English East India Company for their protection; for which they were to give the Company twenty lacks of rupees. As soon as the Mahrattas found that the Rohillas were to be protected by the India Company, they desisted from their enterprize. The Company demanded the twenty lacks from one of the princes of the Rohillas, who did not raise the money so soon as the Company thought proper. The famous Sujah Dowla then applied to the Company for their assistance to destroy the Rohillas, and agreed to give them forty lacks of rupees, besides ten more to Governor Hastings. A brigade of the British troops was accordingly *let out* by the Governor and Council of Bengal to Sujah Dowla, upon this humane expedition. The country of the Rohillas, or independent princes, is divided into several principalities or powers; some of which, being effeminated by riches and luxury, made a feeble opposition to their destroyers; others, in particular one prince, opposed them with great bravery, till he and his men were cut to pieces. Thousands of these people were cruelly butchered, their wives debauched, some of the princes poisoned, and the country depopulated.

In a battle fought with this nation, Sujah Dowla shewed the truth of the common observation, that the cruellest tyrants are, in general, the greatest cowards. Sujah kept eight miles in the rear, with horses at the different stages to favour his escape, should not the *British* and his arms prove victorious. The Rohillas were commanded by Hafiz Rhamut, a man of letters, genius, and respectable talents in politics. This chief, understanding that our brigade occupied the centre, drew up his forces, consisting of 30 or 40,000 infantry and cavalry, behind the curve of a deep rivulet; in which semicircular position, his centre was so far removed from the action, that our musquetry became useless, while he bent his chief attack against Sujah Dowla's battalions in flank, which, from the nature of our line, (which was straight), came up close to his wings, but could not pass the rivulet.

The disposition of Hafiz was masterly; and as our General (Champion) did not chuse to advance from the

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War with  
the Rohil-  
las.

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They are  
defeated.

Cruelty of  
Sujah  
Dowla.

centre, and leave his flanks exposed, the action continued long, with considerable loss to Sujah's battalions, who behaved well. At length one of our battalions was ordered to advance, to see if the rivulet could be crossed; who, finding themselves galled by the fire of the enemy, pressed forward, and passing tumultuously, formed on the opposite bank. The Rohillas perceiving this spirited action, and that the whole line was crossing the rivulet, took flight. The gallant Hatiz alone disdained to flee. He was slain, after an obstinate resistance; and his head was immediately carried, on the point of a spear, to Sujah, still trembling in the rear. He took the head in both his hands, and observing it a while, with malignant joy, threw it upon the ground, uttering some low expressions of contempt, suitable to his own cowardly mind.

Meer Abdallah Cawn, the next in command to the gallant Hatiz, was taken prisoner; and having been sent to Allahabad, now one of the residences of Sujah, died in a few days. The unfortunate widow of this prince (Abdalla) fell with her two daughters, into the hands of the cruel Sujah. The young ladies were both of exquisite beauty, and the mother fearing (and with reason) that the villain had formed designs on their virtue, she armed them with poison and resolution, should he make any attempt. What she dreaded happened. He was met at the door of their apartment by the distracted mother. She threw herself at his feet, embraced his knees, and kissed the ground. She entreated him, by the memory of her husband, the rank of her family, the humanity due to the unfortunate, not to enter. He is said to have become irresolute by her tears. But one of the daughters hearing her mother's cries, and hurrying forward to examine the cause, he was so struck with her beauty, that he spurned away the mother, and seized the daughter in his arms. In struggling with the ravisher, she had just time to swallow the poison. But even this did not prevent the barbarous design of Sujah. The fate of the mother and her other daughter is unknown.

The East India Company by thus administering to the lusts of Sujah Dowla, and putting him in possession of a country equal to half of Bengal, yielding annually 1,250,000 l. received, as we have already observed, a very handsome douceur, as well as their Governor. Nor is it probable, from what afterwards happened, that the other members of Council were forgotten. A duel took place, April 30, 1775, between General Cla-

vering and Mr Barwell, who, with Governor Hastings, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, composed the Council of Bengal, on account of the General having said, that Mr Barwell had taken money in direct contradiction to his solemn oath." It would seem, however, that the military officers were not equally well paid on this occasion. One of them wrote as follows: "It has been a very unjust war; but we are like lances in the hands of a surgeon, and must do as we are ordered. We received the empty thanks of the Governor and Council, for our steadiness in the action, and our good discipline, in not quitting our posts to plunder a rich camp which we were masters of. Sujah Dowlah got all the plunder, which was immense, and we got nothing. He has offered us seven lacks of rupees as a present for our services; but the Governor and Council have refused to suffer us to accept it, saying, "It would poison the minds of the army." But, if money would poison, there is not a great man in this country but would have been melted, marrow-bones and all, long before this time."

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Duel between Gen  
Clavering and Mr  
Barwell.

It was not long before Sujah Dowlah received the reward of his oppression and brutality. In his wars with a neighbouring tribe, he had taken, among other prisoners, the wife of the chief, who had the misfortune to fall in battle. The Nabob being captivated with the beauty of this woman, one night had her brought into his private apartment; but just as he was about to abuse her, she drew a small knife, which she had artfully concealed in her hair, to elude the search of the eunuchs, and stabbed him. Thus Sujah fell a sacrifice to his unbounded lust, at the age of about sixty, leaving upwards of twenty sons behind. Great pains were taken to conceal these transactions, so disgraceful to human nature, and so dishonourable to the managers of the Company in India, and which had the effect to render the very name of Englishmen detested and abhorred by all the country powers.

Death of  
Sujah  
Dowla.

In a preceding part of this chapter we gave an account of the East India Company's picking a quarrel with the Rajah of Tanjore, which ended in the Rajah's final overthrow and deposition. It will now be necessary to take notice of a very extraordinary transaction, which took place in consequence of this iniquitous proceeding, and which amounted to no less than a revolution, and the total subversion of established government in our principal settlement on the coast of Coromandel.

Revolution at  
Madras.

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Intrigues  
of Ma-  
homed  
Ali Cawn.

It seems to be pretty well established, that Mahomed Ali Cawn, the Nabob of Arcot, had, through the protection and alliance of the East India Company, grown to very great power, and, it is farther said, to an uncontrolled influence, not only over the natives, but by various management over the British settlements also. He had formed a considerable army on the European model, who were officered mostly by English; and had, in general, conducted himself with such prudence and ability, as to support himself in a higher stile of dignity than most of those magistrates who set up for a sort of independent powers on the decline of the Mogul empire, and who were aided in their establishment by the fortune and arms of the East India Company. To his ability is said to be joined very extensive views, and a very aspiring ambition.

In this situation, and in possession of the power, wealth, and qualities, which we have described, Mahomed Ali Cawn is represented, as applying them with such art and success, that he obtained an overruling, if not boundless influence in the English councils at Madras. If such was his design, he certainly shewed himself equal to the pursuit; for laying by the jealous state and distant pride of an eastern despot, he seemed to become, as nearly as it could possibly be admitted, an inmate, and member of the British community at that settlement, making the outward or Black town, as it is called, the principal seat of his residence, where his palace adjoined to the walls of the English fortress or town. By these means he is said to have been in constant possession of every transaction that passed, and even of every proposal or design that originated in that settlement.

But whatever foundation there may be for the charge or supposition of this prince's possessing an undue influence at Madras, it is certain that the expedition against Tanjore, and the cruel treatment of the King or Rajah, being a joint enterprise undertaken by the Company's forces in that presidency with the Nabob's, afforded too much colour to such an opinion, and unhappily contributed its full share, along with other eastern exorbitances, deeply to affect our national character both in Europe and Asia.

The account of this transaction, with all the circumstances of the conquest, spoil, and ruin of a friend and ally, in so unexampled a manner, excited the greatest indignation in the Company when it arrived in England. Nor were they without apprehensions for

the security of their settlements on the coast when they considered the boldness of design, promptness of execution, and apparent indifference as to their liking or resentment, which distinguished this enterprise. That visible ascendancy over the counsels and actions of their servants, of which the Nabob had now given so dangerous a proof, was still more alarming than any other circumstance.

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Nor was his conduct in other respects, both then and after, wholly without suspicions. Among other instances which did not carry the most pleasing appearance, he removed his eldest son, a prince of a mild disposition, from all power, and from the command of his army, and placed it in the hands of his second son, a young man who is represented as violent in his temper, and possessed of ability, with a strong spirit of enterprise.

This violent deposition of the king of Tanjore, with all its circumstances, was so contrary to the policy of the Company, and to the spirit of its orders, that it was immediately determined to restore him to his dominions. But the manner of carrying this design into execution required some consideration. It was not to be committed into the hands of those servants who had already set their seals upon the outrage and wrong; and who, if other motives did not even prevail, could scarcely now retract from that decided part which they had already taken, and in which it was thought they had so vast a pledge of interest. The Company was far from wishing to fall out with the Nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they disposed to urge matters to any extremity with their servants for what was past. The restoration was determined, as an act equally necessary from the motives of justice, public opinion, and good policy; but they wished that all previous matters relative to it should rest in oblivion, without further censure or inquiry.

It was therefore necessary to send some person out as governor and president of Madras, who should carry full powers for the execution of this difficult and delicate commission; and it was equally necessary, that the person so sent should, besides the most uncorruptible integrity, possess a degree of weight and personal consequence, sufficient to impress a due sense of respect on the Nabob, and to awe any factions that prevailed among their own servants.

Lord Pigot was therefore very properly fixed on as answering these ideas more fully than any other person that could be thought of, and as calculated, in an ex-

Lord Pi-  
got sent  
out to re-  
store the  
Rajah of  
Tanjore.

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extraordinary degree, to give effect to all the purposes of the Company. His brave defence of Madrafs had given the first effectual check to the views of the French in the East, and the first turn to fortune in our favour. To him the Company were, perhaps, indebted for their now holding a single possession in India; and to him the Nabob of Arcot was undoubtedly indebted for his present exalted fortune. His civil government had been as celebrated as his military exploits; and his private character had procured him a very extensive share of esteem.

In the mean time, the Nabob, with great foresight and art, was providing for every possible, as well as expected, consequence of the Tanjore business. The long interval that necessarily elapsed before the arrival of Lord Pigot in his government, afforded a full scope for the exercise of his ability in intrigue. Although the part which they had already taken would necessarily influence the conduct of the English presidency, in wishing or endeavouring to support or confirm their own former act, he thought it, however, prudent to interest them still more deeply in the measure of securing to him in perpetuity the possession of the kingdom of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vast sums of money from several members of the council, and some others, whose weight and influence he thought might be necessary towards the completion of his scheme; and is said directly or indirectly, to have mortgaged the revenues of Tanjore to them, as a security both for the principal and for a prodigious interest arising on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. To provide against the worst that might happen, besides the pillage of the Rajah's treasures and personal effects, and the seizure of his revenues, the country was stripped as bare as it could possibly admit, without the total ruin of the people, and the immediate destruction of their agriculture and commerce.

Lord Pigot arrived at Madrafs about the latter end of the year 1775; some weeks after which, he communicated to the Nabob the order of the Company for the restoration of the king of Tanjore. The Nabob insisted upon what he called *his* right to Tanjore, by the laws of India, and by treaties with the Company. His representations had no effect. His Lordship considered himself as commissioned to restore the Rajah, and accordingly he went to Tanjore the beginning of April 1776.



Upon his return to Fort St George, the majority of the council disapproved of his proceedings at Tanjore. They represented to his Lordship, that such a measure would be entirely repugnant to the interest of the Company; that the directors, being at a great distance, could not be so able to judge as the council, who were on the spot; that since the last dispatches to England, there had been many revolutions; and, from the then appearance of things, they did not suppose it would be for the benefit of the Company to restore the king of Tanjore to the throne. But the plain truth was, seven of the council had lent large sums of money on their own account, for which, it is said, Tanjore was pledged to them as a security; they knew, therefore, that if Tanjore was restored to its former king, they should lose that security; and they had reason to suppose, from the known cunning of the Nabob, that the money borrowed would be in the same predicament.

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Lord Pigot finding how matters stood, and that seven to four\* of the members of the council were against him, had recourse to stratagem to obtain a majority. At a meeting of the council in the absence of Sir Robert Fletcher, commander in chief of the Company's forces, his Lordship told Messrs. Stratton and Brooke, two of his most violent opponents, that having something to propose with respect to them, he thought that in decency they should withdraw. Upon quitting the council-chamber, he moved for *suspending them*; and carried the motion by *his own* casting vote; at the same time orders were issued for putting Sir Robert Fletcher, commander in chief of the forces, under arrest.

A violent outcry was immediately raised by the excluded members against this act, as tending to give the governor an arbitrary power, by the annihilation of the council appointed to assist or to controul him. But they were resolved not to rely on argument or debate, or to wait the decision of the Company on the controverted point. They formed, with great secrecy, a plot for securing the person of the president, and for effecting a revolution in the settlement which should put the

Deposition and imprisonment of Lord Pigot.

\* The seven members of council in opposition to Lord Pigot were, George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Esqs.; Sir Robert Fletcher, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdain, and George Mackay, Esqs.;—for him, Claud Ruffel, Alexander Dalrymple, John Maxwell Stone, and Richard Lathom, Esqs.

CH A P. power entirely into their own hands. In consequence of  
 XXIX. the arrest laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel  
 Stuart of course succeeded to the immediate command  
 1776. of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the  
 highest state of intimacy and apparent friendship with  
 the governor, he notwithstanding entered deeply into  
 the views of the suspended members and their powerful  
 adherents, who had altogether formed the above-  
 mentioned scheme, under the instigation and direction,  
 as it is said, of the Nabob and his son, for violently  
 seizing Lord Pigot's person, and deposing him with  
 equal violence from his government.

The throwing of the whole British military weight  
 into the same scale with the Nabob, his son, army, and  
 a majority of the civil power, rendered the fate of  
 the governor inevitable. To carry the plot into ex-  
 ecution, it was necessary to induce him to go out of the  
 garrison, as any military violence offered to his person  
 within the precincts of the fortrefs, would involve the  
 actors in the severe penalties of the mutiny-laws. The  
 Colonel, well aware of this circumstance, with un-  
 common address, inveigled him to quit that situation  
 which could alone afford him protection and security.  
 Having passed the fore part of the day (August 24,  
 1776) with Lord Pigot on the most friendly terms, the  
 excessive heat of the weather afforded an opportunity  
 in the evening, for persuading him to go for the night  
 to a villa, appropriated to the use of the governors,  
 whither, as an inducement, the Colonel invited him-  
 self to accompany him.

When the chaise was got about half a mile from the  
 fort, Colonel Edington, the adjutant-general, came  
 running towards them; and when he approached the  
 horses heads, he waved his drawn sword, and called  
 out, "Sepoys!" when a party came from the other  
 side, and Captain Lyfaught came up to the chaise with  
 a pistol in his hand, and told Lord Pigot he was his  
 prisoner. Colonel Stuart, taking his Lordship by the  
 arm, said "Get out." Lord Pigot was conducted to  
 Mr Benfield's post chaise, which was standing by the  
 road-side. An orderly serjeant came out of it, and his  
 Lordship was desired to get in. Captain Lyfaught  
 followed him with the pistol in his hand, and conveyed  
 his Lordship to the Mount, where he delivered him as  
 a prisoner into the custody of Major Horne, who com-  
 manded the artillery cantoned there. Colonel Stuart  
 returned to the fort, and declared Mr Stratton to be  
 the governor. Immediately after assuming the go-

vernment, Mr Stratton, &c. promised a reward in public orders to the soldiers, and sent an order to Major Horne under their hands, that in case of any attempt being made to rescue Lord Pigot, his Lordship's life must answer it: and a few days after Colonel Edington was sent to remove his Lordship at midnight from the Mount, he would not tell whither. It has been said, Chinglaput was the place; but there are good grounds to believe, that would not have been his Lordship's fate. However, Lord Pigot declared, he would not trust himself with a traitor; and that he would not, whilst he had life, be removed from thence, but to his own fort, or his Majesty's ship. His determination, and the sense the men seemed to have of his Lordship's situation, induced Major Horne to become security for that time.—It since came out by the affidavit of Mr Randal, that the Nabob's second son had, before this, been tampering for his Lordship's assassination. This vile attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; as it appears that this Lordship, though still kept under close confinement, survived about nine months after.

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In March 1777, his Lordship being seized with a violent bilious disorder, Dr Paisley, his physician, found it necessary, from the heat of the weather, to have him removed near the sea-side; but this could not be done without asking leave of those who had unjustly deprived him of his government. At last his Lordship, with difficulty, permitted Dr Paisley to ask leave to have him removed from the Mount, to the Company's Garden-house. Much time was lost: however, he was brought there at last; but still under a guard. His disease, however, had by this time gained such strength as to baffle every effort of medicine and skill. When he found his dissolution approaching, he settled his affairs, dictated a letter to the Company, recommending Mr Claud Russell as the fittest person they could appoint to this government, and then took leave of all his friends, never losing the calmness, fortitude, and dignity, which he had preserved through life.—To say, with certainty, that his Lordship's death was occasioned by his bad treatment, would be perhaps going too far; but it is more than probable, that the confinement and anxiety of mind which he suffered, were the first causes of his disorder.—His Lordship was interred the day he died (Sunday 11th May 1777) but without military honours, which his friends did not chuse to ask from those who had usurped the power. Beside the Euro-  
his death.

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peans, sixty thousand black people attended his corpse to the grave, with all the marks of grief which they show for a parent : for his Lordship's generosity, and regard for justice, had gained him the esteem and confidence of the natives of Indostan, perhaps more than any European's had done before ; and during his illness, vast crouds of people of all casts resorted daily to their mosques, temples, and chapels, to offer up prayers for his recovery.

In the mean time, the conspirators and their friends possessed themselves, under a course of legal forms, of all the powers of government ; and both parties sent expresses to England, the one to arraign, and the other to support and justify the late proceedings. Nor was the Nabob idle, unprepared, or liable to surprise. He early saw, that his conquest of Tanjore, and his ascendancy at Madras, could be productive of no lasting advantages, unless he could establish such a powerful interest in England, as would stamp upon them a permanency and real value. His mind was comprehensive enough to form the idea, or facile enough to receive the impresson from others, of turning the tables for once upon Europe, and of introducing for the first time eastern intrigues into the councils and politics of the western world. He accordingly very prudently appointed an agent or minister (a Mr Maclean) to manage and conduct his affairs in England, and who was employed likewise on business of importance on the part of the Governor-general of Bengal.

When the account of this revolution reached England, it could not but excite great surprise and indignation in the Company in general. The friends of the presiding faction at Madras, and of the Nabob, were numerous and active. But what appeared to many more surprising, the weight of government leaned to that side.

Resolutions of the  
India  
Company,  
Mar. 26.

Upon these transactions being laid before the proprietors at their quarterly general Court, March 26, 1777, a resolution was agreed upon, and confirmed by ballot, by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the Court of Directors to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the government of Madras, and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment.

In consequence of this resolution, several others were soon after (April 11.) passed in the Court of Directors, by which Lord Pigot was restored to the full exercise of the office and powers from which he had

been degraded; his four friends who had been ejected from the Council were reinstated; a resolution was passed, that seven members of the Council, including the commander in chief of the forces, had violently subverted the government by a military force: these seven members were accordingly suspended from the Company's service, and cut off from any other means of restoration than the immediate act of the Directors. The Court of Directors also passed a vote on Lord Pigot's conduct, which they declared appeared in several instances to be reprehensible.

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These resolutions, however, by the influence of ministry and the Nabob, were soon after rendered nugatory, or rather reversed. At a Court of Proprietors, held April 23, Sir Herbert Mackworth moved, That Lord Pigot be immediately ordered home for an inquiry into his conduct; and that his friends in council, as well as those who opposed him, be likewise recalled. Upon a ballot the numbers were, for the recall of Lord Pigot and the council, 414; against the recall 317. The lookers on stood astonished at this strange revolution in the opinions and orders of the Company.

and House  
of Com-  
mons,  
May 22.  
1778.

This decision in the India-house induced Governor Johnston to bring the affair before the House of Commons. He accordingly moved several resolutions; in general, to approve of the conduct of Lord Pigot as governor, and to annul the resolution for his recall; in which he was warmly supported by Opposition, and as warmly opposed by ministry. The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of 90 to 67.

It being now determined to recall both Lord Pigot and the council of Madras, a new council was appointed by the Company to take upon them the government of that Presidency. These gentlemen having arrived at Madras sometime in autumn 1777. Mr Whitehill, as oldest counsellor on the spot named in the commission, was immediately saluted as Governor by the garrison, and took the chair accordingly. The other counsellors were afterwards sworn in, and instantly proceeded to business. In a short time after this change of government took place, the coroner's inquest, which had been appointed to inquire into the circumstances of Lord Pigot's death, brought in their verdict, *Wilful Murder* against Mess. Stratton, Brooke, Palmer, Jardine, Mackay, General Stuart, Colonel Horne, and Captains Lyfaught and Edington. Upon which the Governor, as Lord Chief Justice, gave orders to the

Trial of  
Mess.  
Stratton,  
&c. at  
Madras.

CHAP. Sheriff to apprehend them. They were all accordingly  
 XXIX. put into confinement; but being afterwards tried, were  
 1779. *honorably acquitted.*

These gentlemen, however, were not allowed to  
 April 16. get off in this manner. Several of them having afterwards come over to England, the affair was again brought before the House of Commons by Admiral Pigot, his Lordship's brother. On this occasion, while the Admiral shewed the greatest sympathy in describing the sufferings and death of his brother, the affections and warmth with which he vindicated his conduct and character, and stated his uncommon public and private virtues, was no less laudable. On that ground, to shew the clear uprightness and immoveable integrity of the late lord, he stated, that he had been offered ten lacks of pagoda's, to withhold, only for a short given time, the reinstatement of the King of Tanjore; that upon his refusal, an additional offer of five lacks more was made and refused; the whole bribe, amounting in value to about six hundred thousand pounds in English sterling money. As a farther proof and illustration of this cleanness of hand and integrity of heart, and how far the late lord was superior to that general corruption which, he said, saps the whole foundation of the Company's trade and government at Madras, he shewed that he died so little enriched by his then government, that his son-in-law, Mr Monckton, had been under a necessity of selling all his houses and effects in India, in order to discharge the debts which he had contracted there. And yet, said he, what was the return he received for this singular conduct? for having no single object in view while he was in India but the interests of the Company, and a punctual compliance, at all hazards, with their instructions? His personal freedom was violently and disgracefully invaded; and after he had been first deprived of his liberty, and that his life seemed for many months to have been suspended only by a single hair, he was at length deprived of that also—Would any man pretend to say how?

Although the countenance of the committee did not seem to indicate any doubt, with respect to the facts or circumstances relating to the late transactions at Madras, the admiral desired leave to call a single but essential evidence to the bar, in order to afford a clear demonstration of the glaring attempts which were made to influence and corrupt the Council, and to bring them over to support the Nabob in his designs, in direct opposition to the orders, as well as to the intentions, of the Company.

The gentleman brought forward upon this occasion, was a Mr Dawson, who was one of the council of Madras, previous to, and during the time of the revolution in that government. His evidence went directly to personal applications made to him at different times by the Nabob's son; and, as he understood and presumed, on the part of his father. That on one of these occasions, he had been offered by him a specific bribe, amounting to a considerable sum of money, only for staying away for one particular day from the council, on which a question of consequence relative to Tanjore was to be agitated. And, that the commander in chief of the forces, who was likewise high in the council, had advised him to absent himself on that day, as was desired. He declared positively, that the sum offered was a lack of pagodas, (about 40,000l.)

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The admiral then moved for an address, "Praying his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his attorney-general, to prosecute George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, Esqs.; for ordering their governor and commander in chief, George Lord Pigot, to be arrested and confined under a military force; they being returned to England, and now within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts of Westminster Hall."

Mr Stratton, who was, at this critical instant of time, personally present in his place, as a member of the House of Commons, attempted a vindication of his conduct, as well as that of his colleagues; but without effect; the motion being unanimously agreed to.

The trial came on before Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench, on the 20th December following, when the Jury, after withdrawing a quarter of an hour, found the defendants *guilty*; in consequence of which they were adjudged by the Court to pay a fine of one thousand pounds each.

We must again return to India.

## C H A P. XXX.

*Rise of the war in the East Indies—Hyder Ally and Marattas inimical to Britain—General Leslie's expedition and death—He is succeeded by Colonel Goddard—Treaty with Moodajee Boosla, Raja of Berar—Unsuccessful expedition from Bombay—Treaty of Worgaum—Colonel Goddard's progress and success—Marattas offended—General league against Britain—Goddard's treaty with Futtu Sing—Takes Ahmedabad—Defeats Sindia—Fort Gualter reduced—Treaty with Bazalet Jung for the Guntoor Circar—Hyder Ally prepares for war—Inattention of the Presidency at Madras, and of the Nabob of Arcot.*

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THE success which attended the British arms in the year 1778, by the taking of Pondicherry, and the entire reduction of all the French settlements in that part of the world, seemed, along with the powerful armies in the hands of the East India Company, and the naval force destined to their support under Sir Edward Hughes, fully sufficient, not only to secure their present tranquillity, but to lay such a foundation of strength and prosperity as could not easily be shaken. It was accordingly hoped at home, and afforded no small consolation in the most alarming situation which we had ever yet experienced, that however Great Britain might have been overborne in that very unequal contest which she was doomed to sustain in every other quarter of the globe, yet that



her dominion and commerce in the east, being happily free from the contingencies of war, still remained whole and unimpaired, and might prove an unfailing source of wealth and of strength in the worst event, capable of balancing the loss of America, which had long been looked upon as inevitable.

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In the midst of these hopes, however, the nation was suddenly struck with astonishment and consternation on hearing, that a sudden revolution had so soon after taken place, and that the British name was even in danger of being extinguished in the east; and though the affairs of India naturally became subjects of parliamentary discussion in consequence of this intelligence, such was the extreme perplexity and obscurity in which matters were involved, that the original cause of the disturbances still remained in a great measure inexplicable.

In tracing those transactions and events upon the spot, which led to so alarming and unexpected a change in the British affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective, as well as immediate view of affairs in India.

After the expulsion of the French, the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally were the only enemies the British had to dread. The one was the more powerful; and the other, from his great personal abilities and qualities, capable of being the most dangerous enemy. The former were the only nation of India who had refused to submit to the Mahomedan yoke, though the great power of the enemy had obliged them to take refuge in the least accessible and most mountainous parts of the country. Here they had resisted the efforts of Aurengzebe in a manner which would have afforded a splendid portion of history, had it happened in other parts of the globe. The nature of their country rendered it incapable of sustaining them by means of agriculture, and their martial disposition rendered them very little inclinable to the art. Hence the rich and fertile regions of the Mogul were compelled in their turns to supply all the necessities of the Mahrattas, who never failed to make incursions when they found themselves straitened for subsistence. On the decline of the Mogul empire, that of the Mahrattas became the most considerable in all India: their revenues were computed at no less than seventeen millions, and their cavalry amounted to three or four hundred thousand; though, as usual with uncivilized people, this great power was much weakened by being divided among a great number of petty princes.

Account  
of the war  
in the East  
Indies.

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All of them, indeed, acknowledged the sovereignty of a prince called the *Ram Rajah*; but as their dependence upon him resembled that of the ancient European barons on their princes, the sovereign was obeyed only when they thought he was in a condition to enforce his power.

Some time before the period in which the British affairs came to be concerned, one Nana-Row, prime minister of the Ram-Rajah, taking advantage of the infancy of his prince, seized the reins of government; but as he was a bramin, and scrupulous of shedding blood, he was contented to enjoy the power, without contending for the titles and splendour of the throne. The young prince was kept in a sort of prison, having all the appearance of royalty, but without being allowed to interfere in public affairs. The seat of government was removed from its ancient place named Sitte-rah to Poonah; and Nana-Row, as well as his successors, seem still to have pretended obedience to the Ram-Rajah, as they assumed only the title of *Paiswa*, or prime minister; whence their government obtained the name of the *Paiswaship*, or *the Government of Poonah*, from the name of the new capital.

For some time, this government of ministers seemed to go on very well, and the empire to lose nothing of its former splendour; but the dissensions which afterwards took place afforded opportunity to Hyder Ally, from being only a soldier of fortune, to aggrandise himself in a very extraordinary manner.

This new government having become hereditary in the family of the minister, after the death of Nana-Row, it devolved on Madia-Row, his eldest son, who died without issue. Their uncle Ragonaut-Row, or Ragaboy, as he was otherwise called, had, for some years, been closely confined on account of his cabals against the government. Madai-Row, supposing that gratitude might more powerfully influence him than fear or oppression, and dreading his crafty and intriguing spirit, released Ragonaut before he died, and, in the most solemn manner, recommended to him his younger brother Narrain-Row, on whom the succession next devolved, joining their hands himself while dying, and adjuring Ragonaut to assist him with his counsel and advice. This the perfidious Ragonaut solemnly swore to perform, and in less than a year afterwards procured the assassination of his nephew, in hopes of securing the *Paishwaship* in his own family. His treachery however, met with part of its merited reward: the Mahrattas,

enraged at such a perfidious action, drove him from the country, and obliged him to take refuge in Bombay. Here to the disgrace of the British nation, he was protected, and intrigues and plots carried on to force him into the government against the will of the people, which laid the foundation of all those wars and troubles which afterwards took place between the English and the Mahrattas.

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Before entering upon this subject particularly, it will be proper to say something concerning the manners, and method of making war, of the Mahrattas and some other Indian nations. Notwithstanding their intestine divisions, the Poonah Mahrattas are still powerful, and their dominions of a great extent. Their armies are very numerous, and are composed almost entirely of cavalry. It is difficult to conceive how such vast multitudes as the Asiatic armies frequently consist of, especially with so large a proportion of cavalry, can be subsisted; as every horseman has two servants, one to take care of his horse, the other to procure him forage; and all these are not only accompanied with their wives and children, but there always follows the camp a moveable town of shops, where every thing is to be sold as in their cities; some hundreds of elephants, for state only; and a train of women (with their numberless retinues) belonging to the prince and the great officers.

Mahratta  
method of  
making  
war.

To provide for all these, the whole country is put in motion; and the strictest orders are given for all provisions to be brought into the camp; by which means, all the cities far and near are exhausted, but the camp for the most part is plentifully supplied.

The forage is procured in the following manner: Every horseman is allowed a man for the purpose of cutting turf, and washing the roots of it, which they consider as more hearty food for a horse than grass. A shower of rain, in this country, produces a fresh crop in a few days; or if the weather continue dry, they remove to other ground. Sometimes they feed their animals with rice, or the offal of meat, boiled to rags, mixed with butter and some sort of grain; and at times they give them opium, which at once damps their appetites, and inures them to bear fatigues.

Many of the Indians obtain from every kind of animal food; living chiefly, if not wholly, upon rice; and they have so great a veneration for cows, that they are prohibited by their religion from killing any of that species; so that, there generally is a sufficient supply

**CHAP.** of beef for the Mahomedan foldiery, and the small  
**XXX.** proportion of Europeans.



The Asiatics have an invincible dread of fire-arms; the true cause of which lies in the inexperience of their leading men, who never understood the advantages of discipline, and who have kept their infantry upon too low a footing. Their cavalry, though not backward to engage with sabres, are extremely unwilling to bring their horses within the reach of guns; so that they do not decline an engagement so much through fear for their lives, as for their fortunes, which are all laid out in the horses they ride upon.

Such of the natives, however, as have been disciplined and encouraged by Europeans, and formed into a regular infantry, under officers of their own, and generally known by the name of Sepoys, or Cipayes, have familiarized themselves to fire-arms, and behave well behind walls; and when we give them serjeants to lead them on, they do not make a very contemptible figure in the field.

Nothing is so ruinous to the military affairs of the natives of Indostan as their false notions of artillery: they are terrified with that of the enemy, and put a foolish confidence in their own; placing their chief dependence on the largest pieces, which they neither know how to manage nor move. They give them pompous and sounding names, as the Italians do their guns, and have some pieces which carry a ball of seventy pounds. When we march round them with our light field pieces, and make it necessary to move those enormous weights, their bullocks, which are at best very untractable, if a shot comes among them, are quite ungovernable; and, at the same time, are so ill harnessed, that it occasions no small delay to free the rest from any one that shall happen to be unruly or slain.

But what is the greatest obstacle of all to their becoming a military people, is, that those who have once had such success in the field as to obtain the name of Fortunate, being thereby considered as invincible, and consequently unmolested for a time, are willing to save the needless expence of an army. For this reason, there are few veterans, and most of their armies consist of an assemblage of various people hastily brought together from different parts; so that there can be no such thing as discipline; without which, numbers are but an impediment, and bravery ineffectual. Although they have so severely suffered, by being surprised in

the night by the Europeans, yet they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp; and when they have acted with us as allies, the most earnest remonstrance could never prevail with them to be sufficiently upon their guard when in the neighbourhood of the French, or to quit their ground in the morning to co-operate with us in surprising the enemy.

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At the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of soporific drugs; so that about midnight the whole army is in a dead sleep. The consequence of these habits is obvious: and yet it would appear a strange proposition to an eastern Monarch to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed on to restrain him in the use of the opium, which he supposes is to warm his blood for action, and animate his soul with heroism. It must fill the mind of an European soldier at once with compassion and contempt, to see a heap of these poor creatures, solely animated by a momentary intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their garb and impotent fury resembling a mob of frantic women, falling like sheep or oxen brought to the slaughter.

Notwithstanding all this, there is no character which the East Indian natives seem to regard more than that of a warrior, though neither nature, habit, their diet, nor their dress, are any wise proper to qualify them for it. In effect, they are, generally speaking, an indolent people, equally averse to labour and to military discipline; either wedded to their own particular opinions, or enslaved to the customs of their ancestors. Though their armies are both numerous and powerful, they are subject to the disadvantages naturally incident to cavalry when acting singly, and being constituted on the same principles with the ancient feudal armies of Europe, they are likewise liable to all the disadvantages of that system. Though they rush into the field at the command of their princes, and sweep every thing before them like an impetuous torrent, they never fail to return back with the spoil; and though they may be summoned again in a few days, it is easy to see that great advantages must accrue from this desultory method of acting to those who never quit the field; while, on the other hand, the latter can scarcely fall upon any effectual method of protecting their open country from

C H A P. being ravaged; though there is not the least doubt  
 XXX. that the present state of the military art inclines  
 ~~~~~ the scale of fortune strongly to the side of a regular  
 force.

The other considerable powers of India were those of Sindia and Holker, two princes supposed to be descended from the most ancient Hindoo Monarchs, and those of the Rajah of Berar, who is reckoned the most powerful next to the Poonah Mahrattas. The former presided in the Aristocracy which took place after the assassination of Narian Row, already mentioned, which they chose rather than to aim at independency themselves, though possessing territories of considerable extent. The other numerous Mahratta princes contributed to make up the power of that state, which, however, was not endowed with any principle of union farther than that of mere self-defence; an happy circumstance for the European interests in that part of the world. The Rajah of Berar, at the time we speak of, was an independent prince, and possessed of sufficient powers to enable him to pay little attention to the dictates of the court of Poonah.

Cause of  
 Hyder  
 Ally's en-  
 mity with  
 the British

Hyder Ally, the great antagonist of the British power, had dictated equitable terms of peace to the Company at Madras in 1769, after having brought the war in which he was engaged to a successful issue, and had then entered into a most strict alliance and friendship with them, by which it was agreed that the contracting parties should mutually assist each other against any common enemy; a clause particularly understood to be pointed against the Mahrattas, as there was no other enemy whom they had occasion to dread.—The Indian prince resolved, as soon as possible, to make trial of the real value of his alliance with the British; and accordingly, having commenced a war with the Mahrattas, wrote a letter to the Governor of Madras, requiring that, in a consistency with the friendship and regard subsisting between them, and for the good appearance thereof in the eyes of the world, he would, for form's sake, send an officer with a battalion of sepoys to his assistance. With this requisition, however, the governor did not chuse to comply, and therefore sent an evasive answer, pretending apprehensions from the designs of the Mahrattas against the English. Another requisition made by him was likewise evaded, on the pretence of impropriety without consulting the other presidencies.—This, however, was not immediately resented by Hyder; but before the war had con-

tinued a year, his dominions were invaded in several places by the Mahrattas, and numbers of forts taken from him; in consequence of which he, about the beginning of March 1770, made a third application to Madrafs, stating, that in consideration of the union between them, his army and artillery were their own; nevertheless, though he had a right to consider their's in the same light, yet if they would only send a small force to act in concert with him, in order to keep up an appearance of friendship, he would require no more. But, at the same time, the presidency were informed by the British agents in Hyder's camp, that he was very earnest in his desire of further assistance; and had commissioned them to inform the governor, that as he should, on his part, punctually maintain the strict friendship between them, he expected they would, in conformity thereto, supply him with a body of troops; and that he was even willing to pay a specified sum of money to defray the expences of their service, in order to obviate any failure of the performance on their side; and the same gentlemen remarked, that if these requisitions were not complied with, it was very probable that his enmity to the British would return.

To all these applications the Council lent a deaf ear. The Mahrattas, under the conduct of Madai Row, overpowered the armies of Hyder Ally, over-run his country, and obliged him to shut up his troops in the strongest fortresses, where it was to be feared, that the fatal effects of famine would soon begin to appear, and accomplish what the sword of the enemy had not been able to effect. In this extremity he had recourse in vain to repeated embassies to the Council at Madrafs. Evasion and procrastination were the only measures resolved on with regard to him, probably owing to the influence possessed by the Nabob of Arcot, his inveterate enemy, in that presidency, who at all times urged an alliance with the Mahrattas against Hyder.

The affairs of Hyder proceeded in this calamitous channel until it was thought impossible he could save himself from destruction, when probably the declining health of Madia Row, and his desire of leaving the empire in a state of tranquility, enabled Hyder to obtain a peace, upon terms not very disadvantageous, in the month of July 1772.—The conduct of the presidency of Madrafs, however, did not fail to make a lasting impression upon his mind. But though he did not think proper to avow his resentment openly, he became very cool and reserved in his intercourse with

July 1772.

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1772.  
Hyder  
Ally assist-  
ed by the  
French.

the Council. At the same time he naturally fell in with the French, by whom he was amply supplied with all kinds of military stores, artillery and ammunition, which enabled him in a short time to renew the war with the Mahrattas with such success, that he not only recovered all the dominions he had lost, but made several new and considerable acquisitions. By this alliance also the intrinsic power of his armies was greatly augmented. The French officers were permitted if not encouraged, to enter into his service; to train his armies, and to form a powerful artillery upon the European plan; so that, when the British came to contend with him, they found a much more powerful enemy than had ever been experienced in India before.

Mahrattas  
like-  
wise inimi-  
cal to  
Britain.

While the Presidency of Madras, by their neglect of the solemn engagements they had entered into were thus stirring up an inveterate enemy in Hyder Ally, that of Bombay did the same with the Mahrattas, on account of the protection and encouragement given by them to the traitor Ragonaut, already mentioned. They were induced to engage in this infamous piece of work by the great promises the traitor made them to the prejudice of his own country, and no doubt, without the least intention of fulfilling them. Among other advantages to be derived from his success, such a large extent of territory was to be ceded to Bombay, as would enable that presidency to support its own civil and military establishment, without having any dependence on Bengal; and in the frenzy produced by these hopes, the Council of Bombay rashly engaged in a war with the Mahrattas, without consulting the superior Presidency of Calcutta.

War with  
that peo-  
ple.

Tho' the Mahrattas were very much provoked at the reception Ragonaut Row had met with at Bombay, they had not commenced any hostilities, and of consequence the British derived great advantages from the sudden incursion they now made, as well as from the war being confined to the sea coasts, where the marine force and artillery could be of great service. Some conquests were made, particularly that of the city of Baroach, where many excesses were committed to the everlasting disgrace of the British name. At the siege of this place fell the brave Col. Wedderburn, (brother of Lord Loughborough), whose loss was so severely felt, that it has been supposed more than equivalent to all the conquests made during the war. The island of Salfette was soon after reduced, and some farther acquisitions made on the continent; but these successes



were at last checked by a defeat, and the three gentlemen\*, sent out from England to regulate the government of Bengal, arriving in October 1774, totally reprobated the war, disavowed the treaty with Ragobay, and immediately set about negotiating for peace.—For this purpose Colonel Upton was dispatched to Poonah, the capital, where he arrived after a journey of five months, having traversed several of the interior countries of India formerly unknown to the Europeans.—After some stay at Poonah, the Colonel concluded a peace upon terms so honourable and advantageous, that they not only exceeded expectation, but seemed altogether unaccountable. The island of Salsette, the territory of Baroach, with some other districts in the province of Guzerat, were not only ceded to the Company for ever; but the Mahrattas agreed to indemnify the authors of the war, by paying them 150,000*l.* at fixed terms; and for the security of which, lands to a much greater value were assigned as a mortgage. Ragonaut Row was also to be amply provided for, but only as a member of the private community, and to reside in a remote part of the Mahratta dominions, where distance and situation would, in some measure, prevent him from interfering with affairs of state. On the other hand, the Company engaged to afford no protection to him, or to any other pretender to the Mahratta throne.

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XXX.

1774.

Peace concluded in 1774.

Thus tranquility seemed to be once more established on a solid and lasting foundation; but the affairs of India were still doomed to experience a revolution very disastrous to the British interest. The three gentlemen who had lately arrived, who, with the governor-general (Hastings) and Richard Barwell, Esq; another old member of that presidency, composed the supreme council of India, differed almost entirely from the two latter concerning the public conduct and ideas of policy to be observed by the Company. The great aims they seemed to have in view were, to keep peace with the natives of the country, to observe an inviolable attachment to public faith, and to attend strictly to justice in all their transactions. For some time, the newly-arrived gentlemen were enabled to form a majority in the council, and to carry every thing in their own way; but the death of Colonel Monson in 1776, and General Clavering in 1777, totally altered the face of

\* Lieut.-general John Clavering, Hon. John Monson, and Philip Francis, Esq.

**C H A P.** XXX. **affairs.** The pacific system was quickly thrown aside, and the old one, of reinstating Ragonaut, assumed in its stead. That traitor, therefore, under pretence of being afraid to trust himself in the land of the Mahrattas, was still retained at Bombay, whilst his emissaries and partisans at Poonah used their utmost endeavours to excite disturbances under the very eye of the British residents in that capital.

1777.  
Treaty  
broke by  
the Eng-  
lish.

In the mean time, the French had attempted an alliance with the Court of Poonah, by means of a Mons. Lubin, while the Emperor of Germany attempted the same by a Mr Bolts. These circumstances, particularly the former, afforded new pretences for the protection of Ragonaut, and the accomplishment of the intended revolution. A discontented party at Poonah having likewise put themselves under the protection of the presidency of Bombay, in order to establish the power of the traitor, the British residents at Poonah were ordered to give them every kind of support and encouragement in their power. The agents of Britain, were, however, egregiously misled, by the partisans of Ragonaut, both with regard to the power of the discontented party, and the progress of the alliance with France.

New Treas-  
ty propos-  
ed.

On the 29th of January 1778, the measures adopted at Bombay received the approbation of the Supreme Council, and were ratified accordingly. An extraordinary supply of ten lacks of rupees were sent, in order to enable them to carry their design into execution, and a military force was voted to assist them. But before this, the Governor General had drawn up and laid before the Council a new treaty of peace, which was proposed to be concluded with the Mahrattas, instead of that formerly agreed upon, and which had been concluded by Colonel Upton in March 1776. By this new treaty the Mahrattas were to give such security for the personal safety of Ragonaut as he himself should require: They were to pay a specific sum of money to reimburse the Company those military charges which might be incurred by the interposition in his favour: They were to cede the island and fortress of Bassin in perpetuity to the Company: They were to make other specified grants and exchanges of lands on the Continent; and no European settlement was to be allowed on any of the Mahratta coasts without the consent of the Supreme Council previously obtained.

After proceeding to dictate such haughty terms to a sovereign and powerful state, it may seem surprising

that the ardour for war should abate at Bombay as soon as the means of executing their designs had been put into their hands by the council of Bengal. This, however, was the case; but, in proportion to the defect of military ardour in Bombay, it increased at Calcutta. Various schemes against the Mahrattas were agitated in the Supreme Council; but the great object to which all others were now subservient was for a long time not only kept back from the knowledge of the Presidency of Bombay, but from that of the Supreme Council in general. New instructions were sent to Bombay, requiring new and peremptory demands to be made upon the Mahrattas; these were to supply the place of the abovementioned treaty; and the refusal to comply with any one of them was to be considered as a direct violation of the treaty of Poonah. They were likewise accompanied with such menaces as, among all sovereign states, would have been considered as a declaration of war. In case of non-compliance, which was undoubtedly to be expected, very large discretionary powers were given to the presidency of Bombay for entering into a new alliance with Ragobaut Row, and for engaging with him in such measures as should appear most proper for retrieving his affairs; though, in some other points, which were not explained, he was to be regarded as a very secondary object.

C H A P.  
XXX.  
1778.

Though this extraordinary behaviour was undoubtedly calculated to produce a rupture with the court of Poonah, such was its inclination to adhere to the terms of the late treaty, that the article of Ragobay's residing in the Mahratta dominions was given up. They agreed also, that in case he would engage to stay at Benares, at that time one of the most pleasant places in India, but, on account of its distance, secure from any danger of his turbulence, they would pay annually five lacks of rupees, about 60,000*l.* sterling for his maintenance during life.

Such condescension on the part of the Mahrattas operated nothing on the Supreme Council of Calcutta. War at all events was resolved upon; and the Supreme Council determined boldly to send a strong military force, with a considerable train of artillery, by land to Bombay, almost from one extremity of India to the other. In this journey, they were obliged not only to traverse countries never explored before by Europeans, but to encounter difficulties of which they knew neither the nature nor the extent. The greater part of their way lay through the Mahratta countries, where

War with  
the Mah-  
rattas re-  
solved on.

CHAP. they could not but expect to be opposed, as well from  
 XXX. the jealousy naturally to be expected on account of the  
 1778. late proceedings, as on account of the immediate hostile  
 invasion, which it might naturally be supposed it would  
 be reckoned.

General  
 Leslie's ex-  
 pedition  
 and death.

This detachment set out under the conduct of Colonel Leslie, and was strengthened, besides the artillery, by a regiment of cavalry under Colonel Goddard, and by 500 Candahar horse supplied by the Visir, son and successor of Sujah Dowlah in that title, as well as in the Soubaship of Oude. All the fighting men in this company did not exceed 7000 in number; but, as they marched in the eastern stile, the number of sutlers, servants, and other attendants, increased the whole to above 38,000.

The army set out in the beginning of April from the neighbourhood of Korah and Allahabad, and had reached Jumna, the Mahratta boundary, by the middle of May 1778. They passed this river in boats, under the cover of their artillery, notwithstanding all the opposition the Mahrattas could give, and took possession of the fort and town of Calpy on the other side, which the enemy had totally abandoned. Here they continued till the beginning of June, when, having again set forward, the heat was so excessive, that by reason of it, and the total want of water, 300 or 400 people are said to have died in one day raving mad. On the evening of this dreadful day, they arrived at a place where the water was plentiful and pure, the Mahrattas having left all the wells open in their surprise, which had they filled up, the whole army must have perished. The three succeeding months were spent in the Diamond country of Bundelchund, where they entered deeply into the disputes concerning the succession of the late Rajah, and carried on some other mysterious political transactions, which were never thoroughly understood in Europe. Besides these negotiations, however, they sacked, without any appearance of a warrantable cause, the city of Mow, which was not accomplished without considerable difficulty; and at the time of Colonel Leslie's death which happened in the beginning of October, there were no fewer than 1000 sepoy in the hospital. Upon this occasion, the command of the army devolved upon Colonel Goddard.

Oct. 3.  
 He is suc-  
 ceeded by  
 Colonel  
 Goddard.

Through the whole course of their progress they continued in a state of continual hostility with the Mahrattas, levying great sums of money in the coun-

tries through which they passed, some of which were raised in the name of Ragonaut, the army being attended on their march by an agent of his. This was the more extraordinary, as every idea of supporting the pretensions of that traitor had been solemnly and repeatedly disclaimed at Calcutta; and so far from avowing any hostile intentions with regard to the detachment, its object was affirmed to be merely the protection of Bombay against the designs of the French. But whatever might be the pretences at first, it is certain that the Governor General soon thought proper to bring forward the main scheme he had formerly projected, and which was no less than a treaty offensive and defensive with the Rajah\* of Berar, named Moodajee Boosla; to engage that prince to enforce his claims to the throne of the Ram-Rajah, at that time said to be entirely vacant.

CH A P.  
XXX.

1778.

Treaty  
with the  
Rajah of  
Berar.

This scheme, now first made public, was much contested by the minority of the Supreme Council, on the grounds of its being directly contrary to instructions sent from England, and the will of the Company; that it was capable of convulsing the continent of India from one end to the other; that it was directly contrary to all kind of faith and justice, and must necessarily create a general dislike and resentment, if the Council should be so unreasonable as to enter into any hostile plan against their ancient friend and ally the Nizam of the Decan; whose power was also greatly to be dreaded, as being the richest prince in India, and who must by that means be converted into the most bitter and implacable enemy; and that all the states of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, would join in exterminating a nation, whose boundless ambition and extravagant schemes of domination and conquest, went to the overthrow and destruction of all others.

All these considerations, however, were overruled from the mere hope of gain to be derived from the commencement of an unjust war; and the success, it was supposed, would be greatly promoted by the friendship and support of Hyder Ally, who, it was

\* It may not be improper to explain the terms applied to different degrees of rank in the Eastern world. The *Subas* are next in rank to the great Mogul. The *Nabobs* are subordinate to the *Subas*. The *Rajahs* are the native Hindoo princes, who were not expelled by the Mahometan conquerors, but permitted to hold their dominions upon payment of an annual tribute.

**C H A P.** not doubted, would use his utmost endeavours to set  
**XXX.** the Nabob of Berar on the throne of the Ram-Ra-  
 1778. jah. The execution of the project was retarded in  
 the first place by the unnecessary delays of Colonel  
 Leslie in the Diamond country, for which he was found  
 fault with by the Nabob himself, as well as by the  
 Council; and it had been resolved at last to deprive  
 him of his command altogether; but his death, which,  
 we have already noticed, put an end to all proceed-  
 ings in the matter. Another obstacle arose from the  
 death of Mr Elliot, who had been appointed by the  
 Supreme Council ambassador to the Rajah of Berar;  
 but, in the mean time, the Mahrattas having refused  
 to comply with the terms proposed, that council de-  
 clared the treaty of Poonah to be no longer binding,  
 and Colonel Goddard, who had succeeded Leslie in the  
 command, was invested with the same powers that had  
 been given to Mr Elliot, and ordered to make the best  
 of his way to Narbudda, which form the boundary of  
 the dominions of Berar.

Unsuc-  
 cessful ex-  
 pedition  
 from  
 Bombay.

While these transactions were going on, the coun-  
 cil of Bombay seemed resolved to make amends for  
 their past inactivity, by rushing headlong into war with  
 the greatest impetuosity, seeming rather impatient of  
 having the whole glory to themselves, than willing  
 to receive assistance from Colonel Goddard. In their  
 undertaking, however, they were destitute of the in-  
 telligence necessary for acquitting themselves of such  
 an arduous task with success. They were not only  
 misinformed with respect to the state and situation of the  
 Mahratta armies, but it was likewise reported, that the  
 Bombay army would be joined on the borders by 20,000  
 horse under the partizans of Ragonaut. Confident of  
 success, therefore, at any rate, they neglected that  
 expedition which was so necessary to insure it. Colo-  
 nel Stewart had been sent with a detachment to take  
 possession of the Bour Ghaut, a pass within fifty miles of  
 Poonah, and which commanded the way directly to  
 that city. This he continued to fortify for a whole  
 month, without either seeing an enemy, or receiving  
 a reinforcement.

Nov. 25.

The Bombay regular force amounted to about 4000  
 men (of which 700 were said to be Europeans) with a  
 powerful train of artillery. Ragonaut Row command-  
 ed a separate division, of two regiments of sepoy and  
 about 600 horse, composed of his own followers. The  
 army was incumbered with an enormous baggage,

and such a number of carriages and cattle, as were totally inconsistent with the nature of the service and shortness of the distance. The military maxims of the east were never held in any estimation among warlike nations; but it would seem, from this instance, and that of the Bengal detachment, as if the English were falling into one of their most inveterate and ruinous vices.

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1774.

The nominal command of the Bombay army lay in Colonel Egerton; but the Select Committee appointed the second in council, and another gentleman, as their deputies, to superintend the operations of the army in the field; investing civilians with powers as incompatible with their own situation and knowledge, as with military subordination and service. These two gentlemen, with Colonel Egerton, composed what was called "The Poonah Committee."

On new-year's day 1779, the whole Bombay army, having gained the pass, began to march from the village of Condola towards Poonah. They had scarce set out when they found themselves harrassed on all sides by the cannon and rockets of the Mahrattas, who continued to annoy them in this manner every succeeding day while they continued in motion; and, so great was the interruption they received by this cannonade, that they found themselves unable to advance more than three or four miles per day. On the 4th of January, Captain Stuart, a brave officer, who commanded the select body of grenadiers, was killed by a cannon-ball, which obliged the army to halt at a village called Chockley. On their arrival at Tullicanoon, a beautiful village within twenty miles of Poonah, which, however, had been burnt on their approach, they found their difficulties and dangers augmented in such a manner that no hope remained of making any farther advance; the enemy being assembled to the number of about 60,000 horse. Here they were closely attacked; but repulsed their enemies, though with almost as great loss on their part as was sustained by the Mahrattas.

This skirmish was fought on the 11th of January 1779; and, as it was now found impossible to advance, the next object of consideration was how to retreat with as little loss as possible, the danger being evidently very great.

In this disastrous situation of affairs, it was determined to retreat in the night with all possible expedi-

Treachery  
of Rago-  
naut Row.

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XXX.

1779.

Bombay  
army obli-  
ged to  
treat with  
the enemy  
at Wor-  
gaum.

Cpl. God-  
dard's pro-  
gress and  
success.

tion, in order to regain the pass which Colonel Stuart had fortified; but the perfidious Ragonaut now formed a design of making his peace with the Mahrattas, by betraying the whole army to them, or even of falling upon them with the forces he commanded, in the hurry and confusion of an attack; and is said to have made the overture to Sindia, who seems to have been the principal Mahratta commander on this occasion: but the British commanders, probably informed of his intended treachery, changed the situation of the army in such a manner, that he had it not in his power to put his designs in execution. The troops began their march about one in the morning, but were attacked in the rear almost immediately after, and in a short time surrounded on all sides by the enemy. A furious engagement then ensued, which continued from day-break till four in the afternoon, when it ceased only through the weariness of both parties. The valour of the British troops, however, availed them but little; for the Mahrattas, seeing them now effectually surrounded, and that it was impossible for them to escape, did not any more chuse to come to a close combat, but kept up a distant cannonade, till a flag of truce was sent from the British camp with proposals of accommodation. The terms granted on this occasion, considering the situation of affairs, were far from being unreasonable. They were shortly these, that Ragonaut should be given up, and all the late conquests restored; the treaty concluded in 1761 being now to come in place of that of Poonah. As, however, so little regard had been paid by the British to former treaties, the present was clogged with the disgraceful condition, that Mess. Farmer and Stuart should remain as hostages until this treaty, called *the Treaty of Worgaum*, was ratified at Bombay, and the island of Salsette, with the other conquered countries, restored. The whole being confirmed by the company's Seal, the army were supplied by their late enemies with provisions, through the want of which they were reduced to the last state of distress, and conducted by a party of Mahratta horse to the boats which reconveyed them to Bombay.

In the mean time Colonel Goddard was preparing to put in execution his part of the scheme for overthrowing the Mahratta government, but which the Rajah of Berar did no seem inclined to assist. This prince, however, shewed a great friendship for the English, and at the same time for the Court of Poonah; and being situated betwixt the dominions of the



two, he naturally became the mediator of their differences. This office he discharged with a fidelity not often to be met with. To the Mahrattas he represented, that their supposed alliance with France was the cause of all the jealousy of the British; and his representations on this head were so effectual, that the Chevalier de St Lubin was dismissed without his proposals being even heard. To the Council at Calcutta he represented the bad consequences of Leslie's expedition, and shewed that, besides its ill effects otherwise, an enterprise of that kind could not fail to alarm all the princes of India; and every prince, through whose territories the army passed, would not fail to resent such a violation of the rights of sovereignty. He stated also the numberless difficulties that must attend the execution of it, in passing through unexplored and hostile countries, want of provision, waters, &c. All these, however, were disregarded at Calcutta, and the advices and letters of the good old man, who appeared to make some scruple of shedding the blood of his fellow-creatures from the sole motives of rapine and ambition, were treated as the lectures of an old doating prince on political morality.

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1778.

In consequence of the military scheme being fully adopted, Colonel Goddard departed from the Diamond country on the 12th of October 1778, in his way to the dominions of Moodajee Boosla. The road lay through narrow defiles in the woods, and difficult passes among mountains, where a small force might have stopped the progress of a numerous army; but though a party of Mahratta cavalry, under Bullagee Pundit, harassed the British troops during their whole march, their want of skill in military affairs prevented them from making use of the advantages afforded them by the nature of the country. Goddard, therefore, proceeded, in spite of every difficulty, till he arrived, on the last of November, at the river Nerbudda, which formed the boundary betwixt the Mahratta dominions and those of Berar. The day following he passed over to Huffinabad, where he continued till near the middle of January, and immediately sent an agent to Naighore, the Rajah's capital, in order to negotiate the proposed alliance. The troops were quite fatigued and exhausted, their carriages broken down, and they were in want of almost every necessary. Through the kindness of the Nabob, however, they were now amply supplied, though he was by no means disposed to allow them to pass through the interior parts of his

October 12.

Nov. 31.

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dominions. Neither could he by any means be induced to conclude the proposed alliance with the Council to the prejudice of the Mahrattas, or enter into any conditions which seemed to threaten hostility either with the Paishwa or the Soubah of the Decan. The arguments which his ambassadors principally urged, were the obligations of morality, so little regarded in modern politics; though the Nabob himself, in his letters, insisted much on the impracticability of the design, by shewing the total inequality of the British forces, even when joined by his own, to the task they wished to accomplish, and the inevitable ruin which must of necessity attend himself in case of a failure.

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Jan. 16.

The British commander, finding it impossible to make the Nabob comply with the designs of the Council, set out for Poonah. He had not, however, advanced far, when he received a letter from the Poonah Committee, as they were called, (*viz.* the three gentlemen employed to superintend the operations of the army), advising him to proceed either to Baroach or Surat, or to continue on the borders of the Berar dominions, but by no means to attempt a march to Poonah. The colonel, however, not thinking himself authorized by this letter to disobey the orders he had originally received, proceeded on his way; but being afterwards informed of the misfortune of the Bombay army, and the subsequent treaty, he proceeded to Surat, where he arrived by the end of February.

In the mean time the Presidency of Bombay had formed a design of recommencing hostilities, notwithstanding the treaty concluded by two members of the Poonah Committee, who were in fact invested with the full powers of government. This treaty, therefore, was publicly disavowed, without any regard to the lives of Messrs. Farmer and Stuart, who had been left as hostages in the hands of the enemy.

Nothing, it appears, at this time could exceed the contempt shewed by the Presidency of Bombay to every kind of public faith or morality. At the time the army was hemmed in by that of the enemy, the committee were reduced to the necessity of sending a blank paper to the latter, desiring them to fill it up as they thought proper. This being communicated to Madajee Sindia, one of the principal Mahratta chiefs, he advised the rest not to insist upon any unreasonable terms, by which they might exasperate the English; but rather to conciliate their favour by moderation; and this advice, in all probability, was the means of

procuring such moderate terms at that time. The Presidency of Bombay, however, supposed that Sindia could not dictate this advice without some very interested motive, or some unaccountable attachment he had taken to the English; for justice, clemency, and moderation seem to have been motives quite foreign to the breasts of these gentlemen. To this chief, therefore, they now applied, hoping to find in him a proper substitute for the infamous Ragaboy whom they had been obliged to deliver up to the Mahrattas; and secret proposals were made, holding out great advantages to him, if he would adopt the scheme of overturning the Mahratta government: but Sindia treated them with the silent contempt they deserved.

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1779.

The failure of the intended scheme produced much dissatisfaction between the three Presidencies of India. Those of Bombay and Calcutta mutually accused each other of being the authors of the misfortune that had happened; the former, on account of the treaty attempted with the Nabob of Berar, and their being kept so long ignorant of the main design; and the latter, on account of their having undertaken such an arduous task as the late expedition rashly, and without the proper means of accomplishing it. The council of Madras, however, differed from both, and foretold the evils they would bring upon the British dominions in that part of the world by their absurd and unjust behaviour; especially as they themselves were conscious that their former conduct had made Hyder Ally their enemy, and that he only waited for an opportunity to fall upon them in conjunction with the French.

These considerations, however, were disregarded by the Supreme Council, who confirmed the conduct of that of Bombay, and disavowed the treaty formerly concluded; nevertheless they empowered Colonel Goddard to treat with the Mahrattas in as ample a manner as possible, and to adhere to or renew the treaty of Poonah; or, as it was otherwise called, that of *Poorunder*; but strictly enjoined him not to admit the French into the treaty, or give up an article of the new conquests; at the same time that it was determined by every possible means to attempt a renewal of the treaty with Moodaslee Boosla, and if possible obtain his concurrence in the project.—The more effectually to carry their resolves into execution, their forces were put in proper order, and the first brigade, stationed on the banks of the river Jumna, was ordered to keep in rea-

C H A P. dinefs to march on the fhorteft notice into the Mahratta  
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1779.

All this time the Paifhwa had been remonftrating in the ftrongeft manner on the injuflice and infidelity of the government of Bombay. In one letter of the Paifhwa to the Governor General he has the following remarkable expreffions :—" The maintenance of every article of the treaty is equally incumbent on both parties. It is not ftipulated, in any article of the treaty, that either party may fend forces through the dominions of the other, without confulting him before-hand, and thereby to caufe trouble and diftreff to the people. To what rule of friendship can be attributed the ftationing garrifons, and the raifing of money in the country of the other party ? What has happened is then agreeable to the Englifh faith. From the commencement of the authority of the family of the Paifhwa, they have entered into treaties with many of the chiefs both of the eaft and weft, and have never before experienced fuch a *want of faith* from any one ; nor ever, to the prefent time, deviated from any of their engagements ; nor have been wanting in the duties of friendship and alliance. The blame refts with you."

About this time Colonel Goddard was advanced to a high degree of power at Bombay, being created brigadier general, and appointed to a deliberative feat in their councils ; in confequence of which, probably, he entered with great fpirit into all the fchemes of the Prefidency ; and though he did not extend his views fo far at prefent as to plan any fcheme for the total revolution of the Poonah government, his military qualifications enabled him eafily to fee how many valuable conquelts might be made, particularly on the Guzerat fide, during the prefent feafon of weaknefs and intestine diforder. In the mean time he communicated to the court of Poonah the new propofals of the Bombay Prefidency for accommodating matters ; but before any anfwer could be given, Ragonaut having made his efcape from Madajee Sindia, to whole care he had been committed, fled once more to the Englifh for protection. As the Bombay council did not at prefent chufe to receive him, he was obliged to flee to Goddard's camp near Surat, where he could not conceal his uneafinefs at being under the jurifdiction of the Supreme Council, rather than under that of Bombay.

Ragonaut  
Row ef-  
capes to  
Goddard's  
camp.

A little before the efcape of this mifcreant, the Paifhwa and Madajee Sindia had written to the Prefidency

of Bombay, informing them of their design to march against Hyder Ally, in order to revenge the injuries they had sustained from him, and expressing the greatest desire of accommodating all differences with the British Government; but they could not well be supposed to brook this new protection afforded to Ragonaut; and though they still agreed to send agents to Goddard's camp, in order to open the negotiations, this was very slowly done, and so much time besides lost in sending messengers to Poonah upon every difficulty that arose, that the treaty was spun out to a great length, without any point being conclusively settled. The protection, however, afforded at this time to Ragonaut, was of a quite different kind from what he had formerly experienced. Every idea of seconding his ambitious projects was now at an end, and he was protected only as a fit instrument, who might be useful either in case of war, or for settling the terms of peace. It was, however, determined, that whenever a peace should take place, suitable provision should be made for him by the Mahrattas, and he should reside at whatever place he thought proper; but so much were things changed from what he formerly experienced, that the allowance of 50,000 rupees a month (about 6000 l. sterling) which had been made him by General Goddard, was highly disapproved of by the Supreme Council, and he was ordered to reduce it within very narrow limits. Even the protection was limited by his behaviour, and it was now said to be granted only on condition that he should not forfeit his right by any act of infidelity, or make any attempt to defeat the negotiation with the Mahrattas.

In the mean time new proposals were made to the Nabob of Berar, but no persuasions whatever could draw him into any combination against the Mahrattas; on the contrary, he used his utmost endeavours to shew the Council that they ought by all means to effect a speedy reconciliation with the court of Poonah, in which affair he offered to become mediator, and to guarantee the peace; engaging to settle the differences effectually, and to cure all jealousies on both sides. This mediation, however, was refused.

In the mean time the repeated acts of perfidy towards the Mahrattas, with the many instances of most scandalous and cruel oppression committed by the Company's servants, had united almost all the princes of India in a general league against the British, and a design was formed of exterminating them entirely.

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The Mahrattas resent the protection afforded him.

A general league against the English formed by the Indian princes.

C H A P. The court of Berar, however, seem to have acted at  
 XXX. present with a degree of fidelity and secrecy unknown  
 1780. almost in any age of the world. Though the downfall  
 of the Nizam, Subah of the Decan, had been one of  
 the schemes proposed by the treaty with Moodajee  
 Boosla, yet no intelligence of this was conveyed to him  
 either at the time or afterwards. The Nizam, who  
 was the founder of the league above mentioned against  
 the British, in his public enumeration of the causes  
 which induced him to take this step, mentioned only  
 his share in the general apprehension of danger from  
 the English; the close friendship, connection, and al-  
 liance which subsisted between him and the Poonah  
 government; the mortal hatred he bore to Ragonaut  
 Row, whom he styled *an invincible villain*, and *utterly*  
*incapable of faith*; the injustice of the Bombay go-  
 vernment, together with the immediate personal inju-  
 ries he had received from the government of Ma-  
 drass.

Mahrattas  
 accede to  
 the gene-  
 ral confe-  
 deracy.

Early in the year 1780, the Mahrattas found them-  
 selves under a necessity either of making peace with the  
 English, and revenging themselves of Hyder Ally; or  
 of entering into a league with Hyder, and declaring  
 war against the English. For some time they hesitated,  
 and gave no answer to the proposals of Hyder; but the  
 Nizam at length decided the matter, and a most power-  
 ful confederacy was formed against the British power.  
 The principal parties were, the Nizam, Mahrattas,  
 Hyder Ally, and Moodajee Boosla, though it does not  
 appear that the latter was a willing or even a free agent  
 in this matter.

The plan proposed was, that Hyder and the Nizam  
 should attack the Carnatic and the northern Circars;  
 the Mahrattas to attack Surat and Guzerat; and Moo-  
 dajee Boosla to invade Bengal. The latter, however,  
 did not by any means perform what the allies expected  
 of him; for besides being unaccountably slow in raising  
 his army, he calculated the time of its march so ill,  
 that it did not arrive there till the commencement of  
 the rainy season, when the whole must have perished  
 had they not been relieved by a seasonable supply of  
 provisions from Bengal, and by which the kindness  
 formerly shewn to General Goddard's army was re-  
 turned.

After much negotiation on the part of Goddard and  
 the Court of Poonah, the treaty was suddenly broken  
 off, and all parties prepared for war. Bombay, in

hopes of sharing the conquests expected to be made, sent off its whole force to join the Surat army under General Goddard; and the Council of Madras, notwithstanding their extreme aversion to the war, were obliged to send a very considerable part of their force to the same place; while, on the other hand, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the company and the Ranna of Gohud, or Ghod, a petty prince, whose territories lie among the mountains on the Mahratta side of the Jumna, and the greater part of which were then possessed by some of their troops. The poverty of the Mahrattas rendered their preparations extremely slow, while the great pecuniary resources of the Company enabled them to be equally alert.

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1780.

In order to understand the nature and reason of the military operations now to be described, it will still be necessary to take notice of some farther particulars relating to the Mahrattas. Some considerable possessions were held, under the Paishwa, by the family of Guicawar, on the western borders of the Guzerat. In the first Bombay war, disputes then prevailing in that family with respect to the succession, the English thought proper to favour the pretensions of Futy Sing Guicawar, in opposition to those of the other claimants. The transactions of this treaty are not by any means clear; but it is certain that cessions of lands, to a very considerable value, in the Guzerat, were obtained from Futy Sing; though he afterwards declared not only that his signature was extorted, but that he had no right to the lands he had promised to cede. The first military movement, therefore, made by General Goddard, January 2. 1780, was in order to force this prince to a determination concerning the lands, and to come into terms of alliance with the English. The ostensible reason of this expedition, however, was to reduce the fortress and territory of Dubbooy belonging to the Paishwa. This was soon accomplished; and the British army being very near, and on the very road to Futy Sing's capital (Brodera), the general had the better opportunity of intimidating him by its force. No appearance of danger, however, nor the acknowledged talents of General Goddard in negotiation, could induce this prince to accede, in a cordial manner, to the alliance; though his scruples were at last overcome, and a treaty signed for the division of the Guzerat, and the perpetual exclusion of the Poonah Government,

Gen. Goddard concludes a treaty with Futy Sing.

Jan. 2.

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1780.  
Feb. 15.  
Takes Ahmedabad.

On the 15th of February 1780, the army, reinforced by the cavalry of Futtu Sing, marched to lay siege to Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat. This place, of so much importance, was taken by storm in five days. Its reduction was followed by the submission of the rest of the province; and Futtu Sing being invested with the government, proceeded to grant the Company whatever their servants thought proper to require, or whatever he thought would be agreeable to them; but before the affairs of the province could be thoroughly settled, Sindia and Holkar directed their course towards Surat, with a considerable army. General Goddard, imagining their design was to attack that place, reached their encampment by forced marches on the 8th of March, designing to attack them in the night. From this intention, however, he was diverted by a letter from Mr Farmer, one of the hostages left by the Committee of Poonah in the hands of the Mahrattas. This gentleman informed him of the friendly disposition of the Mahrattas, and that they wished to be upon amicable terms with the English; and his intelligence was confirmed the following day by the arrival of both Mr Farmer and Mr Stuart, who had been freely enlarged by the Mahrattas, and discharged from all obligations relative to the treaty of Worgaum. Along with them was sent a Vackeel, or confidential messenger, from Sindia, who opened some new proposals; but as these included a demand of Ragonaut and his son, without any stipulation in favour of the English, the messenger was dismissed with an unfavourable answer. This refusal, and some instances of duplicity said to be observed at this time in Sindia's conduct, made Gen. Goddard extremely anxious to bring him to action; but his cautious antagonist managed matters so well that this could never be accomplished. At last, finding all his endeavours otherwise ineffectual, General Goddard left behind him his tents standing, and all other incumbrances; after which he advanced to the attack with such rapidity, that Sindia was compelled to stand an engagement. The event was entirely in favour of the English; the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged totally to abandon their ground; a disgrace which could not fail to dispirit the Mahrattas greatly, and destroy the confidence they might at first entertain from their courage and numbers.

March 8.

The Mahrattas set at Liberty their hostages.

Sindia defeated by Gen. Goddard, April 3.

This action, which happened on the 3d of April 1780, seemed but a prelude to other disasters of the



same kind.—Captain Campbell, with two battalions, four field pieces, and a large convoy of provisions, was overtaken by Sindia with an army of 20,000 men; whom he, nevertheless, not only repulsed, but destroyed a great number of his men.—Six thousand Mahrattas were surprised in their camp by Lieutenant Walfh, and driven out of it by a single regiment of cavalry; the Mahratta commander, and a great number of his men, being left dead on the spot; and the camp, with all it contained, falling into the hands of the victors.—A similar action concluded the campaign. Major Forbes, with two battalions of sepoys, surprised and routed an army of 7000 Mahrattas.

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1780

Some very brilliant service was likewise performed on the side of Bengal, so that the Mahratta affairs seemed to go every where to wreck; and they received a still more signal blow in the reduction of the fortress of Gualier, deemed impregnable from the remotest antiquity. It was situated on the top of an high rock, and seems to have been equally strong with some fortresses besieged by Alexander the Great; and the method by which it was taken is said to have been exactly similar. Some individuals of a native tribe called Mewattes, probably, from the hope of reward, discovered a private way by which it was possible to climb up to the top of the mountain; and the British commander, Major Popham, having made proper use of the intelligence communicated to him, employed them to guide a party up the precipices in the night time, by which means this strong fortress instantly fell into his hands.

Fortress of  
Gualier  
reduced.

But, while the British were thus successful against the Mahrattas, they were threatened with utter extermination in the Carnatic. In order to render the operations of this war easily intelligible, it will be necessary to take a further view of the affairs in that quarter. We have already observed, that though the war with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally had been extremely agreeable to the Supreme Council of Bengal, and likewise to that of Bombay, the Presidency of Madras had entirely differed in opinion, and most pathetically pointed out the dangerous consequences to the Company's interests at large, as well as the ruin which must ensue to themselves, by the prosecution of such a scheme. Their own conduct, however, was in many respects no less reprehensible than that of the Presidencies they condemned. We have seen that they had perfidiously denied their assistance to Hyder Ally at the time he stood so much in need of it, and thus occasioned the

Farther  
account of  
the cause  
of the ge-  
neral  
league a-  
gainst the  
English.

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1779.

quarrel with him which now took place; and at the same time they were behaving in such a manner towards their old friend and ally, the Nizam of the Decan, as must undoubtedly have the effect of provoking that prince. They had, in the first place, allowed the small annual tribute of five lacks of rupees, for the payment of which the Company was bound to the Nizam, to run up to a very large sum. This was due for five very large and valuable northern circars or provinces, of which, however, they were as yet only in the possession of four; the most southerly, and consequently that nearest to the Carnatic, being settled for life upon Bazalet Jung, the Nizam's brother. This province was to revert to the Company immediately on the death of Bazalet, and, during that interval, a proportional specified deduction was to be made from the tribute above mentioned. This prince, however, was bound by his brother, not to alienate, during his lifetime, any part of the revenue settled upon him, and which was called his *jaghire*; and the Company were equally restrained by treaties from all attempts to procure the possession of this province before the death of Bazalet; besides which they were bound by the same treaties to defend the dominions of the Nizam, and even to check Bazalet himself, if necessary. Notwithstanding all this, however, the situation of the Guntoor province rendered it greatly the object of desire to the Company, particularly on account of its having the seaport of Mootapilly, which afforded a constant opportunity of commerce with the French, and of introducing arms, ammunition, artillery, and even troops into the Decan. Proposals for anticipating the possession of this province were made as early as the year 1769, and frequently renewed afterwards; but as the Nizam never thought proper to accept of them, they served no other purpose than that of raising up jealousies and differences betwixt the parties. The great subject of complaint on the part of the British, was, that Bazalet kept up a connection with France. A particular instance of this was thought to be his receiving into his service a body of troops under the command of a Mr Lally; which, though composed of vagabonds from many different nations, went under the name of a body of French, and was certainly commanded by French officers. After some remonstrances on both sides, which did not afford entire satisfaction to either, Bazalet was induced, by the great progress of Hyder

Ally, to put himself under the protection of the English, and, though himself a subject, to conclude a treaty with them in the month of April 1779, without the knowledge of his brother and sovereign, by which he dismissed his French troops and gave up the Guntoor; nor was it thought proper, on the part of the English Council, to take any notice of this treaty to the Nizam after it had been concluded; and no account of it was sent to Bengal till ten months after its being ratified.

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1779.

Guntoor  
province  
ceded,  
contrary  
to treaty.  
1779.

Though this conduct must undoubtedly have been sufficiently provoking to the Nizam, matters were still further embarrassed by what followed. The province was farmed out to the Nabob of Arcot, who had ever been an object of jealousy to the Nizam; and even this was rendered worse by the enmity which subsisted betwixt the Nabob above mentioned and Hyder Ally. In these circumstances, Bazalet Jung soon became exceedingly fearful of the danger which threatened him; and, not thinking all the troops within reach of the Guntoor equal to his protection, urged the Presidency to send a strong reinforcement for that purpose. Colonel Harper being sent off on this service, was, without any apparent necessity, ordered to take his route through part of the dominions of Hyder. On entering this country, called the *Cuddepah*, he gave notice of his route and destination to the officers of Hyder; who instantly replied, that he had no right to march through the dominions of their master without his leave; and therefore that he should be opposed, and the passes barricaded against him. However, he pursued his course for some days, until at last he found a narrow pass, named *Atcour*, so strongly fortified that he could not attempt to force it, even if he had been ordered to commit hostilities, which was not the case. However, he soon perceived, that if he would not attack the Indians, they would surround and attack him; for which reason he abandoned the project for the present, and returned to Innaconda, where he arrived August 14, 1779, after spending six days in Hyder's country.

Hyder AL-  
ly offend-  
ed by some  
English  
troops  
marching  
through  
his terri-  
tories.

Aug. 14.

It now appeared necessary to reconcile the Nizam to the treaty with Bazalet Jung. Sir Thomas Rumbold, the president, therefore proposed to send a resident to the Nizam's court at Hyderabad, with an apology for the arrears due on the tribute, and a promise of payment as soon as possible; by which, he said, the advantage of having certain intelligence with regard to the Nizam's views and designs would at least be obtained. The proposal being accepted, Mr Holland was

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dispatched on the embassy, and was received with great respect by the Nizam, who assured him of his determination to live on terms of the strictest friendship with the Company, and to adhere inviolably to the treaties which had been entered into betwixt them; that he had ever religiously observed that conduct, and had resisted all the solicitations made to induce him to support the French interest, and confirmed and repeated his friendly professions by a letter to the Presidency; expressing, at the same time, his satisfaction with Mr Hollond's appointment. But when he came to understand the affair of the Guntoor province, he became exceedingly dissatisfied, and could never afterwards be reconciled to the Presidency of Madras. His resentment was still farther inflamed by an attempt to get free of the tribute altogether, and instructions were sent to Mr Hollond to propose this to the Nizam. Such an extraordinary demand coming in place of payment of the arrear, and while the affair of the Guntoor province was still fresh in his mind, could not but be in the highest degree provoking. He therefore told Mr Hollond, that there was no farther occasion for his staying there; that he saw the Company were determined to break the treaty, and that, if they were bent on war, he was equally ready, threatening at the same time instantly to join Hyder Ally. At last, on the 31st of August, the Nizam gave his final answer, that the commencement of hostilities must be the immediate consequence of withholding the tribute, and that he might have his audience of leave in two days. This was succeeded by a formal notification to him to prepare for his departure; and, in the mean time, the Nizam talked publicly of taking the field as soon as the rainy season was over.

August 31.

This scandalous conduct of the Presidency at Madras was entirely disapproved of by the Supreme Council at Calcutta; but, by reason of the distance, it was long before their interference could have any effect. At last, on receiving advices from Mr Hollond of the dangerous situation of affairs, the Council resolved to take an active part in the business, in order to prevent the mischiefs that were likely to ensue. For this purpose they sent a letter to the Nizam, calculated to soften his resentment, but at the same time laying as little blame as possible on the government of Madras. This had the desired effect, and the Nizam promised to suspend his resentment. He added to Mr Hollond,

"If what you wrote is from the heart, and the government of Madras will relinquish the possession of the Circar, it is well; if not, I have nothing of greater consequence than defending my country. It is from this new line of conduct of the English Company, that the foundations of enmity have been laid throughout all the country of Indostan."

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The interference of the supreme Council was highly resented at Madras, and the dispute was only ended by the suspension of Mr Whitehill who had succeeded Sir Thomas Rumbold in his office of President of that Council. In the mean time, Colonel Harper was detained at Innaconda for want of fresh orders; and when they arrived, he had neither money nor provisions, and consequently could not pursue his march by the way which he ought to have done originally, and which would at the time have produced the intended effect. The delay thus occasioned was most unjustly imputed to Colonel Harper, from whom the command was therefore taken, and given to Colonel Baillie.

In the mean time, Bazalet Jung, incessantly implored protection from the Presidency of Madras, without which he could no longer support the English interest in opposition to Hyder Ally, who constantly plied him with letters, requiring him to abandon their interest altogether, and threatening him with vengeance if he persisted in his refusal. In these letters he expressed the utmost contempt of the English councils; represented them as the common enemy of the country; endeavoured to shew, from his own experience and success in the last war, that they were not near so formidable in arms as was imagined; and set them forth as a most rapacious set of people, from whom nothing could ever be recovered after they had once got possession of it.—Finding, however, that Bazalet was not yet willing to come to a rupture with them, Hyder at last invaded his dominions, and shut him up in Adoni his capital; on which the unfortunate prince wrote in the most pressing terms to the Presidency, to evacuate the Guntoor Circar, of which they had taken possession, as their keeping it would be attended with his inevitable destruction.

Thus stood matters in the end of the year 1779, and beginning of 1780; and though the presidency of Madras must have been sensible that the line of conduct they had adopted would unavoidably produce a war, they had entirely neglected to make any preparations for it. It was against this Presidency indeed

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Taking of  
Mahie re-  
sented by  
Hyder  
Ally.

This fort was situated in the territories of one of the small Malabar Princes, entirely ruled by Hyder Ally; who thereupon considering the prince as his subject, and the settlement as a part of his own dominion, remonstrated very warmly against the expedition undertaken by the English for reducing it.—But as these remonstrances produced no effect, he threatened a severe revenge on account of the injury done to many Europeans, French, Dutch, Danes and Portuguese, who were settled in the country, as he said, for the mutual benefit both of the natives and themselves.

The Presidency were somewhat startled at these menaces; but as Hyder was known to be still deeply engaged in the Mahratta war, it was at last determined to prosecute the scheme with all manner of vigour. Hyder attempted to relieve the place, but his views were defeated by Colonel Braithwaite, and the French expelled; so that little doubt remained as to the part Hyder would take in the French war, as soon as he found himself disengaged from that with the Mahrattas; and this disposition became daily more dangerous from the number of French troops which were constantly sent to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, in order to be at hand in case any opportunity should offer of retrieving their affairs in that quarter. Notwithstanding all this ill-will, however, it appears that even yet, had matters been prudently managed, a quarrel might have been avoided, as Hyder did not seem inclined to come to extremities; but from the time that the affair of the Guntoor Circar was known, he appeared totally averse to any reconciliation with the government of Madras.

In the mean time the Nabob of Arcot, who, by reason of his friendship with the English, was in the same danger with themselves, though he neglected to take proper measures for his own safety, did not fail to give such advice to the Presidency of Madras as seemed to him most proper in the present emergency. He pressed

them to draw together all the troops in the Carnatic, and to form one or two camps, as should seem best calculated for protecting the country, in case of an invasion. He set forth, that the irruption of the enemy would be sudden, and that their horse would rapidly overspread the country; that every attempt to collect the troops would then be attended with difficulty and danger; besides which it would be impossible to procure bullocks (which are commonly used in the East) for the service of the artillery, or a sufficient number of those porters called *coolies*, who are necessary attendants on all armies, for the purpose of conveying their baggage and provisions. At the same time he declared, that he had neither money nor troops with which he could hope to make any effectual resistance. He also advised an alliance with the Mahrattas against Hyder.

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These salutary advices were neglected as usual: indeed, the measures pursued on the other side of India rendered an alliance with the Mahrattas impracticable; as every thing had certainly been done to provoke them. Towards the close of the year 1779, therefore, the Nabob announced the peace between Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, with some sketch of the confederacy formed among the Indian princes, already mentioned. This met with little credit; and the Presidency of Bengal were so much convinced that all differences would be conciliated by the making up matters with the Mahrattas, that they were at no pains to provide for the worst in case of the failure of their negotiation. In the mean time, the governor of Fort St George had endeavoured to enter into a private negotiation with Hyder Ally, to whom he sent a letter by a gentleman. This messenger was received with great haughtiness, and obtained a very indifferent answer. In the letter written on this occasion by Hyder, he complained that the friendship betwixt him and the Company had been broken through by the latter; but that out of friendship for the King of England, whom he had formerly considered as a friend, but now thought otherwise, he had not yet taken vengeance; and he concluded with the following words:—"But if you, forgetting all treaties and engagements of the Company, are still intent on breaking with me, what advantage can attend writing to you? You are acquainted with every thing: it is right to act in all things with prudence and foresight."

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March 19.

All this was still insufficient to rouse the Presidency of Madras from their lethargy. It was still imagined that no apprehensions of a war with Hyder Ally were to be entertained; though a letter sent, March 19, 1780, by Hyder to the president, was by sir Edward Hughes considered as such a strong indication of that prince's hostile disposition, that he sent it home to the Secretary of State. In this letter Hyder gave a short, but explicit, detail of all the injuries he had sustained from the Government of Madras for the last eleven years; and he concluded with the following expostulation:—"When such improper conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate? I leave it to the judgment of you and your Council to determine on whose part the engagements and promises have been infringed."—To the same purpose he had expressed himself in a letter written to Bombay, relative to some English gentlemen who had been imprisoned in his dominions, and whom he released on the application of that Presidency. In this he informed them, that he had given orders to oppose any encroachments on his territories by force of arms; but as there were no differences between him and Bombay, he declared that his resentment should only fall on those who had done him injustice.

These threats were soon followed by the most active preparations for war on the part of Hyder Ally: large bodies of troops were every where collected on the borders of the Carnatic, particularly in the neighbourhood of the *gauts*, or difficult passes of the mountains, which command the access into the country; great magazines were formed; and Hyder himself advanced from his capital, Seringapatam, to the frontiers; so that every thing bore the most evident marks of an approaching invasion.

Desperate  
situation  
of the  
Nabob of  
Arcot.

On the other hand, the Nabob of Arcot, on whom the storm was about to fall, had run himself into the most distressed situation imaginable. By an unaccountable dissipation of his revenue, he had involved himself in debt to the Company, to his army, and to every person who would lend him money. His garrisons were destitute of stores and provisions; and he had been so long due, and so deeply in arrears, to his army, that mutiny and desertion every where prevailed. His cavalry marched off by large bodies at noon-day, and his best regiment was with difficulty brought back by a British gentleman who advanced his whole fortune to pay the men their arrears; by which he was extremely distressed, till the Government of Madras at last repaid the money on the Nabob's account.



The Government of Madrafs, however, had a gallant and well disciplined army, amounting to something about 30,000 effective men; and had been lately reinforced by the arrival of Lord Macleod, with a new raised regiment of a thousand men, from England. But this force, which would have been so considerable in its effect, if collected and acting in a body, was rendered weak and inert, by its being broken into small parties, dispersed at great distances, whether in quarters, garrisons, or upon various detached services. A considerable party, but much more so with respect to the nature and value of the troops than their number, were, in this season of danger, sent to assist Gen. Goddard in the Guzerat-war. The applications from Bengal for this reinforcement, were, however; too urgent not to be complied with. Others were in garrison on the Malabar coast; and a very valuable detachment was in the Guntoor Circar, under the conduct of Colonel Baillie. Those immediately in the Carnatic were dispersed in the manner we have before observed. A scarcity of money usually superinduces every other want. This misfortune now prevailed; and the troops were generally destitute of all those necessaries and means which could enable them to take the field.

At the same time, every account of the designs and movements of Hyder Ally were most unaccountably slighted; and the Presidency of Madrafs remained in a supine state of inactivity, when almost on the brink of ruin; nor was it ever believed that an invasion would take place, till it actually happened. Two gentlemen of the Council (Mr Johnson and Mr Smith) had indeed passed very severe strictures on the conduct of the majority; but their remonstrances produced no other effect than that of having their own conduct blamed; and a Mr Sadler, who had delivered in a minute full of severe reflections, a few days after the invasion, was suspended from his seat in Council on that account, as well as from the Company's service in general: Nor did the matter rest here, but was immediately followed by a challenge from the commander in chief of the forces in the Carnatic.

In the mean time the Nabob of Arcot could by no means be brought to give any account of his military establishment, or the strength and number of his troops. It was known, however, that the number of his forces, at some former periods, had amounted to about 35,000 men; but, indeed, the behaviour of his officers and soldiers rendered their numbers insignificant.

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*Hyder Ally's invasion—Threatens Madras—Besieges Arcot—Colonel Baillie, after defeating Tippoo Saib, is himself defeated—Discontents in the British army—Command given to Sir Eyre Coote—Arcot taken by Hyder Ally—Mr Whitehill, president of Madras, suspended—Wandewash relieved by Coote—Disturbance at Pondicherry—Coote repeatedly defeats Hyder Ally—Dutch settlements reduced—Negapatam taken—Trincomale reduced by Hughes—War with the Rajah of Benares—Conduct of Governor Hastings—Success of Majors Crabbe and Popham—Rajah flies, leaving behind him immense treasures—New Rajah appointed.*

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Hyder Ally invades the British dominions July 20.

**I**N this state of confusion, when there was no proper state of defence on either side, Hyder Ally suddenly issued through the passes of the mountains about the 20th of July 1780. He had for some time publicly declared his intention of invading the Carnatic, in order to chastise the English.—“I have already tried them,” said he, “and know them well: they have no conduct; and even now, when I have assembled so great a force to enter their country, they have not manifested the least glimmering of ability; now, therefore, is the time to go against them.”

As there was no enemy to oppose him in the field, Hyder did not meet with any obstacle but what arose from the nature of the ground he had to march over. No care had been taken to guard the passes, and even some of the garrisons near them had applied for rein-

forcements and stores in vain. His army, by the best accounts, exceeded 86,000 men, besides a large body under his son Tippoo Saib, who had been dispatched towards the northern Circars, and other parties which were employed in alarming the frontiers; and his force was rendered more formidable by a considerable number of French troops, whom he had obtained from the Nizam.

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The terror and dismay occasioned by this invasion may easily be imagined. Disputes, however, instead of any proper agreement, took place. The Nabob of Arcot and Presidency of Madras mutually threw out accusations against each other; while the most dismal accounts of ruin, devastation, and danger, were received from all quarters; and multitudes of representations from garrisons, that they were utterly in want of the proper means of defence, and that without a speedy reinforcement they must fall a prey to the invader.

The Nabob of Arcot, in the mean time, was pressed by the Presidency of Madras to exert himself to the utmost in such a desperate emergency; to which he answered, partly by excuses, and partly by reproaching them for their own dilatory conduct. However, he promised to supply them with rice, oxen, and sheep, as well as he could; and that he should exert himself to complete four regiments of cavalry, which were to be put under the direction of the Commander in Chief; and he consented to make assignments of territory for what sums the Company should advance for the payment of his troops.

This shew of exertion presently turned out to nothing, by reason of the extreme ill management of the Nabob's affairs, which was so great, that his commander, in the strong and important fortress of Gingee, refused to allow a British officer to take any measures for its defence, though it was by no means in any proper state for resisting an enemy, until he had received express orders from his court for that purpose, and though an attack was every day expected to be made by Hyder. Colonel Brathwaite found the important post of Carangolly in the hands of an inferior officer, with only 20 of the Nabob's sepoys; and even this petty commandant hesitated at receiving a supply of ammunition, because he had not express orders for that purpose. The Colonel's troops afterwards underwent the greatest distress in their way from Pondicherry to join the army, by reason of the same universal complaint of want of orders.

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Hyder Ally, in the mean time, proceeded in his plan of invasion. Every day furnished new accounts of losses and devastations; so that there was not a place from one end of the coast to the other that was not kept in continual alarm and danger. Nor were these ravages confined to the Carnatic. Tippoo Saib, with a great army, advanced upon the northern Circars, while on the opposite side different parties of the enemy advanced to Madura, and the borders of the Tinivelly country. The Company's forces, at the same time, were rendered incapable of assembling, or of acting with effect, while the wretched state of the Nabob's affairs, and the spirit of mutiny and disaffection which prevailed among his troops, evidently shewed that his subjects were much more disposed to side with his enemies than their sovereign.

In this extremity, a plan was laid of suddenly drawing together from the nearest garrisons a considerable body of troops, to be reinforced by two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry in order to intercept some large convoys of provisions and stores which were to come through the passes in order to join Hyder Ally's army. The execution of this was committed to Colonel Cosby, a man of distinguished bravery and talents for enterprise; but he met with so many obstacles in collecting his troops, and was so often misled and betrayed by the Nabob's servants and officers, that the enterprise not only miscarried, but it was with the utmost difficulty that he himself and his party escaped falling into the hands of the enemy.

Threatens  
Madras,  
Aug. 10.

On the 10th of August, the inhabitants of Madras were alarmed by an attack made on some places about the Mount by some of Hyder's cavalry; and some consultations were held about throwing up works in proper places to defend the town. The army had been ordered to assemble at Conjeveram; but this could not be effected, on account of the want of bullocks, which had been all carried off by the country people into places of safety. It was therefore now resolved, that the Mount should be appointed the general place of rendezvous; and that the troops should remain there until eight days provisions could be procured, and the means of conveyance established; after which they were to proceed immediately on their march. Application was then made once more to the Nabob of Arcot, in order to obtain the supplies of bullocks, and other necessary articles, so much wanted at present.

Besieges  
Arcot.

Hyder Ally, in the mean time, having made several feints in order to cover his real design, at last sat down

before Arcot, which probably urged the Nabob to answer the application of the Presidency sooner than he would otherwise have done. He now put the Select Committee in mind of the stores of all kinds which he had laid up in several of his forts; and intreated that they would order the army to march immediately to the relief of his capital, where they would be plentifully supplied with all kinds of necessaries; which request being complied with, Sir Hector Monro immediately quitted the town of Madrafs, and took upon him the command of the army at the Mount.

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Sir Hector  
Monro  
goes to its  
relief.

All this time, Colonel Baillie was at the head of the Company's forces in the Guntoor Circar. Various and contradictory orders had been sent him since his arrival in that place, and had occasioned no little disputation at Madrafs. Advices, however, were now received from him, that the neighbourhood of the enemy's cavalry, with the overflowing of the river Kristna, had contracted the sources from whence he could derive his provisions so much, that his troops were in danger of wanting subsistence entirely; and that he was apprehensive of being not much longer able to detain the bullocks necessary for a march, without which the army could not by any means move. This at first produced only some relaxation of the strictness of his orders, and he was allowed to march toward the Presidency if he should find it impracticable to subsist his troops where he was: but, soon after, finding their own danger increasing every day, they sent express orders to him to come directly to the assistance of the Presidency; at the same time, however, to take such a route as might enable him to cut off some of the enemy's convoys. This occasioned a delay of some days, and was the cause of the ensuing catastrophe which we are now about to relate.

On the 25th of August, there were no more cavalry at St. Thomas's Mount than a single regiment belonging to the Nabob of Arcot; and, on the arrival of the general, Sir Hector Monro, these absolutely refused to serve any longer, unless their arrears were paid up. The Ameer, one of the Nabob's principal officers, who was present, refused to comply with the demand; and, as the troops continued obstinate, the regiment was broke, and stripped of their horses and arms. Seventeen black officers, and about sixty private men offered to serve in a new corps, and were gladly accepted of by Sir Hector; but the rest were ordered prisoners, under a guard, to Madrafs; from which, however,

C H A P. they were released by the Ameer, who enlisted them  
XXXI. all into his own body guard.

1780. In the mean time, the excessive rains had swelled  
Distress of the rivers to such a degree as to render Colonel Bail-  
Col. Bail- lie's march from the Guntoor almost impracticable, and  
lic. exceedingly distressed and incommoded his troops. Sir

Hector Monro's force at the Mount was so much inferior as to seem totally inadequate to the task of facing the army of Hyder Ally; but the excellency of the troops, together with the fine train of artillery they had, was no small counterbalance to the numbers of the enemy. In these circumstances, it was considered by the general, that a brisk movement towards Arcot would probably alarm Hyder so much as to induce him to raise the siege; and that a junction with Baillie would probably produce a greater effect if it took place at Conjeveram, which was 40 miles on the way to Arcot, than at St Thomas's Mount. He therefore determined to accomplish it there, if possible. This place indeed was considerably out of Colonel Baillie's way, and would oblige him to take a circuit to the westward; but, as no danger or difficulty of accomplishing the purpose was at that time apparent, dispatches were accordingly sent, and the army set out at the same time from the Mount.

Such, however, was the bad state of matters in this country, that it was with the greatest difficulty that the general, after a month's preparation, could obtain only eight days provision for the army; at the same time that the collecting of bullocks for the purposes of draught was so impracticable, that the sepoy were obliged to carry one half of this provision on their backs. The whole force amounted only to about 6000 men, but of these Lord Macleod's regiment made a part, with another regiment belonging to the East India Company; and besides there were a company or two of European grenadiers belonging to other regiments, and 300 artillery.

Aug. 29

By the 29th of August, Sir Hector Monro with his troops reached Conjeveram, after having been exceedingly incommoded by the violent rains which fell, and harassed on their march by the enemy's horse; and at last, when they arrived at their place of destination, they found the whole country under water. Here they were received by an officer, who had been sent by the Nabob to conduct them to Arcot. To him therefore they applied for provisions, both for the troops already come, and for those which were to follow; urging him, at the same time, to procure all

possible intelligence of the motions of the enemy. To this the General received for answer, that the officer had orders to attend him, but none to procure either provisions or intelligence; so that the troops had no other resource than to encounter all the inclemencies of the weather, and collect the growing rice (called *paddy* by the natives) at the risk of being cut in pieces by the enemy's horse.

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Hyder Ally now raised the siege of Arcot, but placed his army in such a manner as must necessarily intercept Colonel Baillie on his march to Conjeveram. It had indeed been expected that he would have been able to reach that place the day after Sir Hector had arrived; but this was prevented, not only now by the position of the enemy, but by the sudden rising of a small river in his way: for, during a week after the arrival of the army at Conjeveram, the rains had continued day and night without intermission, which raised the waters to such a degree, that they were obliged to encamp on higher ground; whilst all the paddy they could collect and beat out, was no more than sufficient for their present subsistence.

In the mean time, the means of procuring proper intelligence were so exceedingly deficient, that Hyder Ally was encamped within five miles of the front of the British army before the general had any notice of his quitting the camp before Arcot. At last he received information from Colonel Baillie, that the latter had passed the river above mentioned, the swelling of which had so long retarded his progress, and was taking the most proper methods to effect a junction; but unhappily this was now rendered impracticable, without fighting the whole Indian army which lay between the two British commanders.

The day after Sir Hector had received the advice from Colonel Baillie above mentioned, a change of movement in the position of Hyder Ally's army induced him also to change his position, and to advance two miles to an high ground, on the Trepasore road, through which the detachments were to come, by which movements the two hostile armies were brought within two miles of each other. Hyder's view in bringing himself into this situation was to cover and support the attack he intended to make upon Colonel Baillie's detachment; on which service he had already sent his brother-in-law, Meer Saib, with 8000 horse; but these being repulsed with loss, he had next dispatched his son Tippoo Saib with 6000 regular infan-

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Colonel  
Baillie de-  
feats Tip-  
poo Saib,  
s. pt. 6.

try, 18,000 cavalry, and 12 pieces of cannon, to make an immediate and decisive attack on the British detachment. An engagement took place on the 6th of September 1780, at a place called Perimbancum, where the British commander had made the most masterly dispositions to withstand the immense superiority of his enemies. After a severe action of several hours continuance, the Indians were totally routed, though, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, the conquerors lost their baggage, and a number of brave men. Colonel Baillie was now within a few miles of the camp of Sir Hector Monro; but the whole Indian army, under Hyder Ally himself, lay full in his way; and if any advantages were to be derived from his present situation, he could not retain them on account of his want of provisions. He acquainted the general, therefore, with his situation, setting forth the loss he had sustained in the late action, the necessity there was of his being speedily relieved, and urging him to proceed with the utmost diligence to meet him at Perimbancum.

Colonel  
Fletcher  
sent to re-  
inforce  
Baillie.

The general, however, unwilling to encounter so great a force with the small army he had, resolved to send such a detachment as might enable Baillie to proceed on his march towards the main body. Colonel Fletcher, an officer of distinguished merit, was accordingly appointed to the command of a strong detachment, composed of the best troops in the army, to his relief. The force on this expedition consisted of the grenadier and light infantry companies of Lord Macleod's highland regiment, two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers; and as their security depended entirely on the silence and remoteness of their march, the commanding officer refused four six pounders which were offered him, and set out from the camp at nine o'clock at night. The soldiers left their knapsacks behind them, but it was thought necessary that they should carry two days rice, some biscuit, &c. on their backs, in order to supply, in some measure, the want of their fellow-soldiers at Perimbancum.

In the mean time, however, Hyder Ally having intelligence of every thing that passed in the English camp, was informed of the march and destination of Colonel Fletcher's detachment, and sent a strong body of troops to intercept it. But the British commander, having, by a singular sagacity, conceived a suspicion of



his guides, suddenly changed his route, and escaped the danger, by taking a circuit through swamps and rice fields to the right, effecting at last the desired junction with Colonel Baillie.

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The success of this manoeuvre greatly intimidated the Indians, who had been already disheartened by the two defeats received from an enemy so exceedingly inferior in number. Colonel Lally, and the other French officers, advised Hyder to an immediate retreat, as they perceived that his army was now in danger of being attacked on both sides by the British, whose superior valour could leave no doubt of the event. Hyder continued undetermined how to act, until two of his spies arrived from Conjeveram, with an account that every thing was quiet in the camp of the enemy, and that they did not attempt to make the least use of the advantages offered by their situation, or indeed did not seem to be sensible of them.

This intelligence revived the courage of the Indian Prince, who, though still pressed by the Europeans in his army, who could not credit the intelligence given by the spies, to think of a retreat, yet continued in his resolution to cut off the united detachments of Baillie and Fletcher. Such an ambush was therefore laid for them as it was impossible to escape. The most covert and difficult grounds on the road through which they were to pass were occupied and enfiladed by several batteries of cannon; and as the time and circumstances of their march were known, large bodies of the best foot in Hyder Ally's army lay in ambuscade on each side; he himself, with almost his whole force, being ready to support the attack; and while these dispositions were making to ensure the destruction of this unfortunate army, a great body of irregular cavalry were employed in various motions on the Conjeveram side, in order to amuse the enemy, and prevent any interruption from that quarter.

On the 10th of September, by day-break, Colonel Baillie, not suspecting any thing of the snare laid for him, set forward on his march; but was soon informed of his danger, by the opening of a twelve-gun battery, which poured in grape shot upon his right flank. In half an hour more, no less than 57 pieces of cannon were brought to bear in such a manner, as to penetrate every part of the English line, and by seven o'clock the action was become general. The situation of the British was now without a parallel in modern history, and very much resembled some of the encounters be-

Engage-  
ment be-  
tween Hy-  
der Ally  
and Colo-  
nel Baillie,  
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tween the Greeks and ancient Persians. Surrounded on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, 30 regiments of sepoys, the Europeans in Hyder's service, and every where galled by a numerous artillery, which poured in grape shot upon them, the British column still remained invincible, and repulsed every attack with prodigious slaughter of their enemies. They had only ten pieces of cannon; but these were so admirably well served, that they did immense execution; and, after a dubious contest of about three hours and an half, victory began plainly to declare in favour of the English. The cavalry of the enemy, after being several times repulsed, was at length entirely routed; and Hyder's right wing, which consisted of the best troops in his army, being defeated, he himself began to despair, and prepared for a retreat. Orders were accordingly given to Lally to carry off the artillery, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat. But while every thing thus seemed to favour the English, a sudden explosion of the two tumbrils which contained their powder, suddenly changed the fortune of the day. This was thought to have proceeded from the loose powder conveyed in bags to Colonel Fletcher's detachment, which it had been impossible to put into proper packages; but whatever was the cause, the effects of it were dreadful. As the explosions happened in the centre of the British lines, a great number of men were destroyed in an instant, and all their artillery overturned and rendered useless. Tippoo Saib instantly perceived the advantage, and falling on with his cavalry, before the enemy had time to recover themselves from the confusion occasioned by this dreadful accident, completed the destruction of the unfortunate army. Still, however, the English continued to resist as long as possible; and though without ammunition, the officers fighting with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, repulsed the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until at last, incapable of withstanding the continual assaults of fresh troops pouring in upon them every moment, they were all either killed or taken prisoners. The loss sustained on this fatal day amounted on the part of the English to 3300; or, according to other accounts, 5000 sepoys, and from 5 to 700 Europeans. The brave Colonel Fletcher was among the number of the slain; and Colonel Baillie, grievously wounded, was brought before the haughty conqueror, who insulted him on his defeat. The Colonel, however disdaining to sink under misfortune,

Col. Baillie defeated, and Fletcher slain.

boldly replied, that the victory was in the hands of the British, until it was snatched out of them by an accident which human prudence could neither foresee nor prevent, for the truth of which he appealed to his son, Tippoo Saib, and the general officers who were present.

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On the part of the Indians this victory was very dearly purchased; and had not the loss been industriously concealed, it must have appeared altogether incredible. It was said, indeed, and probably with truth, that had the army under Sir Hector Monro come up at any time during the engagement, previous to the fatal explosion of the tumbrils, Hyder Ally would not have been able to carry a single gun or battalion of men off the field. The Conjeeveram army had, indeed, advanced on that unhappy morning, along the Trepasore road, on purpose to meet the expected detachments; and both saw the smoke and heard the firing, but at too great a distance to come up before it ceased. Unluckily also they had considered this firing as the consequence only of some desultory attacks of the Indian cavalry, having no notion that Hyder Ally would advance with his whole army to the attack; and besides seem to have placed too great confidence in Colonel Baillie's ability to overcome every possible obstacle.

On receiving the news of this dreadful disaster, the army under Sir Hector, both officers and men, natives as well as Europeans, were enraged almost to madness, and demanded instantly to be led on to the attack, in order to revenge the death and captivity of their comrades; but the general, considering the smallness of his own force, and its vast disproportion to that of the enemy, prudently refused to allow them to follow the dictates of their passion. His refusal to comply with their request, however, produced the greatest discontent imaginable in the army; and this temper proceeded so far among the officers, that an end was put to all friendly intercourse between Lord Macleod and the General; so that when orders were given for a retreat, for spiking up the artillery, and destroying the camp equipage and baggage, the general discontent and dissatisfaction were so great, as to be on the point of producing the most violent extremities.

Discontent in the British army.

In these unhappy circumstances, the retreat of the army was not effected without great loss, as the enemy constantly harassed the troops on their march. On the 12th of the month, however, they were joined at

Sept. 12.

CHAP. Chingleput by the body of troops under Colonel Cosby, XXXI. consisting of ten companies of sepoy grenadiers, and about an equal number of battalion and light infantry companies, with two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry; but the want of provisions obliged the army to proceed from Chingleput to the neighbourhood of Madras, where they were encamped.

1772.

The consequence of Colonel Baillie's misfortune seemed likely to be a total loss of the Carnatic. Madras itself, destitute of provisions and of every necessary requisite for defence, trembled under the apprehension of a siege; and matters were rendered still more desperate by the dissensions which prevailed in the government. At the same time, a spirit of mutiny and disorder appeared, and great disturbances took place among the sepoys in the northern Circars. These people have such an aversion to sea-voyages, both from nature, and the institutions of their religion, that they can scarce be induced to go on board a ship on any account whatever. It was now, however, necessary to combat this prejudice; for some troops were required from the northern Circars, and the way by land being impracticable, they were ordered to take their voyage by sea. This the sepoys absolutely refused; and on its being insisted upon, they mutinied. The mutiny, however, was quelled at Mazulipatam by the prudence of the commanding officer, who gave up the point contested; but at Vizigapatam the sepoys proceeded to the most desperate extremities, and after killing some of their officers, and making a complete plunder of the town, marched off in a body with their arms and plunder.

The aspect of affairs in other places was no less gloomy. The settlements on the Malabar coast were so much endangered, that a resolution was now passed for abandoning the important and ancient settlement of Tellicherry; though, by a subsequent change of circumstances, it was fortunately relieved by Sir Edward Hughes, who conveyed a reinforcement to it from Bombay. The troops under General Goddard were likewise demanded back from the Guzerat expedition; and the most pressing applications were made for supplies of men and money from Bengal, which were also enforced by a letter from Sir Edward Hughes; who, besides stating in the strongest manner the danger to which the whole Carnatic was exposed, intreated the Governor and Council to lay aside all plans against the Mahrattas, and direct their whole

force and attention towards the opposing of the French and Hyder Ally, who were now undoubtedly acting in concert. Orders were also sent for restoring the Guntoor Circar to Bazalet Jung, as well as for withdrawing the Nabob's managers; and these were followed by letters to that Prince, as well as to the Nizam his brother. In the letter to the Nizam, September 23, they informed him of the restoration of the Guntoor; they lamented their inability to pay the arrears of the tribute due to him; but hoped he would believe their assurances, that they would neglect no opportunity for the future of making good the balances; and satisfaction being given on that point, they expressed their hope that "his Highness would act according to the treaties subsisting between him and the Company, and endeavour to the utmost to check the designs of their enemies."

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In the mean time, Hyder prepared to lay siege to Arcot a second time. The place indeed was of the utmost importance to both sides; being a prodigious magazine of all kinds of stores, provisions, and necessaries of every kind; and that in such plenty, as to be equal to the support, and perhaps the equipment, of a large army; at the same time, that its size afforded abundant room for security and cover in case of danger. It was defended by about 7000 of the Nabob's people, and 150 of the Company's European infantry and cavalry, with some few companies of their sepoy. Thus it seemed capable of making a considerable defence against an Indian army; but Hyder Ally was now become formidable even in sieges. His best troops were composed of deserters from the Indian Company, or from the Nabob, and who had been trained up and disciplined by the best English officers. His attacks, therefore, were so well supported, and his artillery so well served, that the Europeans were surprised, as well as disheartened; at the readiness with which the Indian artillery dismounted their cannon. The cavalry of the enemy, in the mean time, were so completely masters of the country, that even in the camp near Madras, the army could not march two miles from the entrenchments; and so great was the dissatisfaction which prevailed among the Nabob's officers, that several of his forts were surrendered to parties of Hyder Ally's cavalry without firing a single shot; at the same time, that the English government was become so universally odious, that scarce a native of the Carnatic wished ill to Hyder Ally's cause.

Arcot besieged a second time.

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The com-  
mand of  
the army  
given to  
Sir Eyre  
Coote.

All this time the Government of Bengal were so little satisfied with the conduct of those at Madras, that they did not think proper, on the first news of the invasion, to send any relief; resolving to wait for such further information as might enable them to determine with certainty what assistance was necessary, and likewise to take measures for its being properly applied. These dilatory measures, however, were at once given up, so soon as the news arrived of the dreadful disaster which had befallen Col. Baillie; but though the most vigorous resolutions were instantly adopted, the monsoon season was still a great impediment to the putting of them in execution. A considerable reinforcement of European troops by sea, with a supply of 15 lacks of rupees, were immediately voted; and as the aversion of the sepoys to all voyages by water was found too strong to be subdued, it was determined, as soon as the season would permit, to send a strong body of these troops to the assistance of the Carnatic by land. This, however, being a matter of delay and doubt, no reliance was placed upon it, especially as the son of Moodajee Boosla was then advanced with an army towards Bengal, and then lay full in the way through which the sepoys must pass. Measures were also taken for sending a plentiful supply of grain to Madras as soon as possible; and in the mean time, a quantity of salted provisions were directly forwarded, to provide against the necessities of a siege. But all the hopes of the Supreme Council for retrieving the affairs of the British on the coast of Coromandel were centered in General Sir Eyre Coote, at that time a member of their own body, as well as commander in chief of all the forces in India. A resolution was accordingly passed, to intreat him to take upon him the command of the army, and the application of the means for the relief of the Carnatic. With this resolution he immediately complied, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and his own ill state of health at the time. As the Supreme Council also were dubious of the propriety of entrusting so large a sum as 15 lacks of rupees in the hands of the government of Madras, this treasure was consigned into the hands of Sir Eyre Coote, to be by him employed in services civil and military; with a discretionary authority, however, on the part of the general, to advance any part of it on the requisition of the Presidency and Select Committee of Fort St George, though he himself was to determine on the propriety of the measure. The Supreme Coun-

oil likewise communicated, both to the Presidency of Madras, and to Sir Edward Hughes, an early account of the measures of relief they were taking, and of their intention of making speedy proposals for a peace with the Mahrattas. They also requested, that Sir Edward would, if possible, direct the operations of his Squadron against Hyder's ports, and the shipping on the Malabar coast.

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The passage of Sir Eyre Coote from Calcutta to Madras was only twenty-three days. He arrived there on the 5th of November 1780, bringing along with him two hundred European artillery, six companies of infantry, one of volunteers, and between 600 and 700 lascars. Yet with all this reinforcement, the whole force he could collect on the Mount scarce exceeded 7000 men, so that the defence of Madras was all that could be expected from an army incapable of taking the field.

In the mean time, Hyder Ally took the city of Arcot by assault; and the citadel, which was incapable of making a long defence, was given up three days after. The prisoners were treated with great humanity; and these having informed their brethren in the fort of the kindness, and even generosity they had experienced, the latter all deserted in one night, leaving the few Europeans to defend the place in the best manner they could, who were accordingly obliged to surrender the place and themselves.

Arcot taken by Hyder Ally, Oct. 31.

Two days after the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote at Madras, he took his seat in Council, where he produced his instructions, containing, among other things, an order for suspending Mr Whitehill from his office of President, and from the Company's service, on account of his obstinate perseverance in the transactions relative to Bazalet Jung, which had been the occasion of all this mischief, and which had been so frequently disapproved of by the Council of Calcutta. Mr Whitehill, however, absolutely denied the authority of the Council to deprive him of his office of president and governor; maintaining, that every member of administration who held such doctrine, should be accountable to the company for the subversion of the government, and to him for the loss he might sustain in his person or liberty. The suspension, however, was sustained by a majority of the Council, and Mr Smith, as next to the chair, succeeded in the office of president.

Mr Whitehill, President of Madras, suspended from his office.

In a letter written at this time by Sir Eyre Coote to the Directors of the East India Company in Eng-

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Miserable  
state of  
the British  
affairs.

land, that general observed, that the same unaccountable neglect which had originally operated in not collecting the forces, still continued to influence the measures of the Presidency of Madras; and that what ought to have been their first care, was, in fact, still neglected, as though no enemy had been near. Even the necessary arrangements for the defence of Fort St George had not been made; nor had any pains been taken to recruit the shattered remains of Colonel Bailie's army, though, before his arrival, it was the only means they had left for their defence. The field artillery was so far from being in readiness, that the carriages were only making up at the time of writing the letter; the troops were dispirited, the sepoy deserting, the countries desolated, the inhabitants treacherous, and all communication cut off; their provisions consumed, and their resources exhausted. That the Nabob, so far from being able to give any assistance, had neither men, money, nor influence, and expected succours from the Company, in order to keep up his interests and credit; and he concluded by telling, that "Hyder Ally had taken every measure which could occur to the most experienced general to distress us, and render himself formidable; and that his conduct in his civil capacity had been supported by a degree of political address as yet unequalled by any power in Hindostan."

In these distressing circumstances Sir Eyre Coote resolved, in the first place, to relieve, if possible, some of the besieged fortresses, which Hyder had now invested since his late success at Arcot. Hyder's army by this time was increased to more than 100,000; and some accounts rated even his irregulars and matchlock infantry at upwards of 80,000. Nevertheless, though the whole force commanded by the British general did not exceed 7000 men, he would not have scrupled at any time to have encountered the whole Indian army in the open field; but as the relief of the fortresses at present besieged, viz. Villore, Wandewash, Permacoil, and Chingleput, appeared to him to be the principal and most attainable object at present, he laid his sentiments on that subject before a council composed of Sir Hector Monro, Lord Macleod, and Brigadier-general Stuart. They unanimously concurred in his opinion; and it was therefore resolved to march to the assistance of Wandewash, which seemed to be in the greatest danger. It was expected, indeed, that Hyder Ally would collect his whole force to prevent their



passing the river Palaar, which lay in their way to Wandewash; but Sir Hector Monro declared, that this was so far from being any objection, that it was the very thing he wished for. Having therefore obtained the approbation of the Select Committee, Sir Eyre Coote marched from the encampment at the Mount to the relief of Wandewash on the 17th of January 1781; but Hyder Ally was so far from attempting to oppose their passage, that he not only raised the siege of that place, but, of all the rest, retiring with his whole force to a cautious and guarded distance. Thus a great extent of territory was instantly recovered, and from this time Sir Eyre Coote kept the field, so that the safety of Madras was as effectually provided for as if the army had continued under its walls, and the sudden change in the face of affairs raised at once the spirits and expectations of the troops.

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Wandewash relieved by Sir Eyre Coote. Jan. 17.

In the mean time, however, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, who had been treated with the greatest tenderness and lenity since the reduction of that place by the British, had, with the utmost ingratitude, increased as much as they could the alarm and confusion of the Carnatic. On the commencement of the present troubles, it had been thought proper to remove to Madras those French veterans who had hitherto been left at Pondicherry on their parole; at the same time it was proposed to send to the same place, such of the inhabitants of Pondicherry whose conduct had afforded most ground of jealousy and suspicion. More lenient measures, however, were pursued; and the suspected persons having renewed their allegiance, and voluntarily presented a written declaration, signed with their names, and binding themselves to the most inviolable fidelity, no farther notice was taken of the matter. Notwithstanding all this, Colonel Braithwaite had no sooner marched out of sight with his troops in his way to Madras, than the French inhabitants suddenly rose in arms, seized and plundered the English resident who had been left to superintend their conduct, and, with a bayonet at his breast, compelled him to sign a paper, with the contents of which he was totally unacquainted. They then proceeded to raise and arm two or three battalions of sepoys, most of whom having made part of the former garrison, had received a similar protection, and were bound to the same conditions with themselves; and in order to provide as effectually as possible for the support of the new army, which was daily expected from Mauritius, they proceeded to collect a great

French inhabitants of Pondicherry revolt.

CHAP. quantity of provisions at Carangolly, a town at no  
XXXI. great distance upon the coast.

1781.

Success of  
Sir Ed-  
ward Hu-  
ghes.

Sir Eyre Coote having now relieved and strengthened the garrisons of the besieged fortresses, took the most effectual methods for allaying the ferment at Pondicherry. For this purpose he disarmed the inhabitants by the destruction of their boats, and the capture of the provisions from Carangolly. This destruction of the boats was very timely and fortunate; for M. de Orves arriving there soon after, and being greatly in want of provisions, was obliged to quit the coast again without receiving any supply. Sir Edward Hughes also had by this time performed such service on the Malabar coast, as was in the highest degree vexatious to Hyder Ally, having entirely destroyed his shipping in the ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and thus at once destroying the hopes he had entertained of becoming a formidable maritime power, which was a favourite object of his ambition; but as the army of Sir Eyre Coote was too weak to attempt great enterprises, and Hyder Ally too cautious to venture an engagement, no action of any consequence took place for several months between the two armies.

This state of inactivity could not continue long. Hyder Ally having made preparations for the attack of Trichinapoly, the British commander marched with the army to Porto Novo, as well to frustrate that design, as to repress his depredations on the side of Tanjore, and the southern provinces; but such was the wretched provision even yet made for the army, that this movement could not have been made, had not Sir Edward Hughes arrived at that place to supply him with provisions from the ships; for besides the small number of their cattle for draught and burden, the bullocks they had for the artillery were in such miserable condition that they were scarce able to drag them along in any manner, and were ready to sink under that portion of camp equipage which it was indispensably necessary for them to carry.

In the mean time Hyder had become so confident of success, that he departed from his usual caution, and resolved no longer to decline an engagement with the English, but to abide the event, rather than abandon his attempt on Trichinapoly and the southern provinces. With this view he advanced directly on the road the English were to take to Cuddalore, and encamped in an advantageous situation within a few miles of their camp, while our troops were employed in pro-

curing provisions from the ships, which, through the weather and surf, could not be landed without great difficulty. His army was now increased to a prodigious multitude; the irregular infantry armed with matchlocks, pikes, and rockets, amounted to 120,000; his cavalry exceeded 40,000; and he had 13,000 sepoy, and 11,000 topasses, armed after the European manner; besides six or seven hundred Europeans, who with the two last mentioned bodies, composed the flower and strength of his army. Besides this, his artillery was worked by Europeans, or by deserters from the Nabob, who had been trained by English officers; and some thousands of his infantry were either of the same description, or had been taken prisoners since the commencement of the war. If to these we add the Lascars, pioneers, and artificers, who formed a numerous body, the whole will afford an idea of the magnificent eastern armies recorded in ancient history. Yet all this was exclusive of the forces under Tippoo Saib, who at this very time was besieging Wandewash with 30,000 men.

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Sir Eyre Coote was far from being intimidated by the vast multitude of the enemy that opposed him; on the contrary, he only lamented the want of cavalry, which prevented him from compelling Hyder to stand an engagement at all events. He was also distressed for want of the necessary means of procuring intelligence; for such numbers of the Indian cavalry hovered round the English camp, covering the country farther than the eye could reach, that it became not only impracticable to send out a reconnoitring party, but even a single man could not escape discovery; so that of all who were dispatched for intelligence, not one ever returned; and no farther information of the enemy could be obtained, than what the short view from the advanced posts could afford.

On the 1st of July 1781, the British army began to march at seven in the morning, having the sea at no great distance on their right; and notwithstanding the smallness of his numbers, the commander in chief was obliged to send off a considerable detachment from his line, for the immediate protection of his baggage and those who followed the camp, that they might not be exposed to the attack of Hyder's irregular cavalry, who would not fail to pour in upon them as soon as they could find an opportunity. After marching about an hour, they advanced into a large plain, where they perceived the enemy's cavalry in great force drawn up

Sir Eyre  
Coote de-  
feats Hy-  
der Ally.  
July 1.

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1781.

in their way ; and besides the advantageous position in which they stood, their situation was rendered still more formidable, by the erection of well-constructed front and flank batteries on those spots which were most proper for that purpose. These batteries were constructed with great judgment and dispatch ; for, among his other improvements, Hyder Ally had formed a body of pioneers, superior to any ever known before in India. Advancing a little farther, they found that the batteries of the enemy lay directly in their way. Their principal force was drawn up in the rear of these works, and extended farther than the eye could reach ; vast bodies of cavalry also every where intercepting the view ; while great numbers of rockets were thrown without intermission, both to confound the observation of the British, and to disorder and impede their movements, at the same time that they were exposed to a warm cannonade ; which, though distant, yet did some execution ; while the British commander did not chuse to return a shot, as knowing that he should have occasion for every round he possessed when the close action commenced. Notwithstanding his critical and dangerous situation, however, he still found it necessary to make a pause for about an hour ; not only to afford time for examining the enemy's immediate position, but to discover whether the country to the right would not allow the taking of such a sweep, as would enable him to turn the enemy's left, and thereby to fall upon them rather obliquely, than to be obliged to attack them full on the front of their batteries. Fortunately he found the country answered his expectation ; and the movement was performed with such dexterity, that it ultimately decided the fortune of the engagement ; General Stuart having, in the mean time, by the most masterly conduct, gained some heights with the second line, which prevented the enemy from being able to surround and cut off the first. This obliged Hyder Ally to change his position, and form a new front to receive Sir Eyre Coote, while he, at the same time, dispatched a strong body to dislodge General Stuart from the heights he occupied. The vast multitudes of the Indians were now found to be no match for the valour and discipline of the Europeans. About four in the afternoon, the first line of the British army, under the command of Sir Hector Monro, drove before them the infantry, artillery, and cavalry of the enemy ; while General Stuart, with equal bravery and

success, routed the body that attacked him; so that the victory was complete. Three thousand of the Indian army lay dead on the field of battle, while the victors loss did not exceed 400 men. Many of the advantages which would otherwise have attended the victory, however, were lost by the want of cavalry, which prevented them from being able to continue the pursuit.

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Hyder Ally was so much disheartened by this defeat, that he withdrew to the neighbourhood of Arcot, leaving open the strong pass of Puravenaar, at the same time that his son Tippoo Saib raised the siege of Wandewash. In the mean time, Sir Eyre Coote, having thoroughly freed the northern provinces from danger, proceeded to invest Trepasfore, which capitulated in a few days, just before Hyder Ally appeared in full march to relieve it; and when there was but one day's rice in the British camp. The General then perceiving that Hyder was at no great distance, determined to attack him; and having obtained a supply of rice from Pounamalla, he instantly set out in quest of his enemy. Hyder retreated, on his approach, to the very spot on which Colonel Baillie had been defeated; being more influenced, as some say, by a superstitious attachment to that spot, than by its real strength. Here, however, his former good fortune now failed him. After a battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till near sunset, his army was successively driven from all their strong posts, and obliged to abandon the field with great precipitation. His loss on this occasion, however, was less than in the former battle, and that of the British greater; thought to be owing principally to the execution done by Hyder Ally's artillery, which was extremely well served. General Stuart lost a leg; Colonel Browne, an old experienced officer, his life; and Captain Hisslop, an active and spirited young officer, one of the General's aid-de-camps, was killed close by his side, all by cannon shot; and were the only officers of note who fell.

Takes  
Trepasfore, Aug. 23.

Defeats  
Hyder a  
second  
time,  
Aug. 27.

This defeat, however, had so little effect upon him, that he again threw himself in the way of the British army, and was again defeated, September 27th, near a place called Sholingur, with very considerable loss, while that of the British was so trifling as scarce to deserve notice.

Hyder Ally receives several other defeats.

Sir Eyre Coote then marched to the relief of Vellore, which was reduced to the last extremity by the

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1781.

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1782.

Dutch settlements  
in Sumatra reduced.

forces of the enemy. After which, he besieged and took Chittor. But Vellore being again reduced to great distress for provisions, the General was obliged, in the beginning of the year 1782, to march again to its relief. An attempt to prevent him from accomplishing this, produced another, action, which, like the former, ended in the defeat of the Indians. On Sir Eyre Coote's return with the army three days after, he found Hyder encamped on the opposite side of a morass, and ready to dispute his passage. A fresh action ensued, in which the Indians made but a faint resistance, and were pursued with considerable loss.

During these transactions, an account was received of the rupture with Holland; and five India ships having arrived at Fort Marlborough in the island of Sumatra on their way home, the gentlemen of that factory were excited to an attempt against the Dutch settlements on the island; in which they happily succeeded, and made themselves masters of all the settlements of the western part of the island.

In the mean time, the Dutch town, fortress, and settlement of Negapatam, being in the country of Tanjore, and a proper place for the reception of a French army, as well as its affording a constant supply to Hyder Ally's army, rendered the reduction of it an object of some consequence. Owing to the immediately dangerous state of affairs, it was some time before this enterprise could take effect. In the mean time, however, the place was closely blocked up by Sir Edward Hughes. The situation of affairs having soon happily changed for the better, by the success of Sir Eyre Coote's arms, the design against Negapatam was revived; and Sir Hector Monro was appointed to conduct this enterprise by land, in conjunction with the Admiral Hughes by sea. The troops were accordingly landed on the 21st of October 1781. The following day preparations were made for a vigorous attack. The great difficulty lay in landing the artillery, (which were supplied from the Squadron,) through a great and dangerous surf. This, however, was surmounted by the diligence and activity of the officers and soldiers, so that every thing was got on shore without the least loss or damage. The garrison consisted of about 8000 men and far exceeded the besiegers in number, who did not amount to much above 4000. There were also many sick, and the troops in general were greatly incommoded by the badness of the weather, and dampness of their situation. Most

of the wounded died; and many of the marines and CHAP. seamen were carried off by violent cramps and spasms, XXXI. occasioned by wet and fatigue. On the 29th of October, the strong lines, flanked by redoubts, which the enemy had thrown up to cover and defend the approaches to the town, were taken by storm. In this action about 1000 of Hyder's cavalry were present; but so much were they terrified by the rough reception they met with, that they ran away, and could never afterwards be prevailed on to join the garrison. The trenches were opened on the 3d of November, and the siege was conducted with such alacrity, that on the 12th the place was surrendered, and a numerous artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition and military stores fell into the hands of the victors. The whole loss of the British, Europeans, and natives, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted only to about 133 men.

1781.  
Oct. 29.

Negapatam surrendered to the British, Nov. 12.

This success was followed by the evacuation of all the forts and strong posts which Hyder Ally possessed in the Tanjore country, and its borders. The inhabitants of the Marawa and Tinivelly countries also, who had revolted from the Nabob of Arcot, now took the first opportunity of making peace with him on the best terms they could.

The monsoon, however, now set in with such fury, that the fleet endured the most grievous hardships; but as the weather became somewhat milder towards the end of the year, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded to carry into execution the design which he had formed against the Dutch settlement of Trincomale, in the island of Ceylon. That island, celebrated from the earliest ages for its produce of the cinnamon tree, has been long shut up from the rest of the world, through the avidity of the Dutch to engross and retain the whole commerce and distribution of that precious spice entirely to themselves. For this purpose they seized and fortified the sea-coasts, and having driven the King of Candy and his subjects into the interior parts of the island, where he is allowed to retain such a degree of authority as is necessary to their own purposes, they are effectually secluded from all communication with the rest of mankind. The island, with respect to commercial situation, as well as to products, is capable of being one of the most valuable in the world. Trincomale lies on the north-east quarter of the island; its harbour is reckoned the best and finest in India; and is composed of several bays, where the most numerous fleets might

Trincomale reduced by Sir Edward Hughes.

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Jan. 5.

anchor in the greatest security; but its being so closely shut up from the winds, may, in that climate, be well supposed to render it unhealthy.

In this expedition the admiral was supplied with 500 volunteer sepoys, and an officer with 30 artillery men, in order to garrison the place in case of success. The fleet being arrived at Trincomale Bay on the 5th of January 1782, and the men being landed, instantly stormed the fort of Trincomale, which, however, was garrisoned only by forty-three persons, soldiers and officers included.

Intelligence was received from the prisoners, that the main force of the enemy was collected in the fort of Ostenburgh, situated on a high hill that commanded the harbour, and holding an open communication with their ships which lay under its protection. The most proper methods were therefore taken for reducing this place; and on the 8th, a hill which commanded the fort, on the top of which the enemy had a post, was attacked, and taken sword in hand. As this post was within 200 yards of the fort, the admiral, early in the morning, sent Captain Gell with a summons to Mr Homæd the governor, which, however, was refused, though in very respectful terms. Sir Edward Hughes was still exceedingly unwilling to proceed to extremities. Independently of the effect produced by national attachment and by a sense of the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between both countries, he was besides personally and intimately acquainted with Mr Homæd, and the principals of those along with him; for the goodness of the harbour having rendered Trincomale a place of common rendezvous, it is probable, that there was scarcely an officer in the fleet, who had not, in the happier season of peace, experienced, in a greater or less degree, some portion of their friendship, hospitality, or kindness. He accordingly wrote a second letter to the Dutch governor, expostulating with him in kinder and more familiar terms on the danger he was running, and attributing his own solicitation to its true cause, to former attachment to himself and his family, as well as to his other acquaintances in the place. It would seem, from the superscription of the governor's answer, that he was not a little affected by this recal of past kindness and friendship; for it runs in the following form—"His Excellency, the generous, brave, and illustrious Sir Edward Hughes," &c. &c. He did not justify nor avow a disposition to resistance in his answer, but placed it



to the strictness of his orders, which were to defend the place to the last; so that he could not answer for his conduct to his superiors, if he were to give it up in any manner.

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Major Geils, the engineer, who was undoubtedly appointed to be the bearer of the letters of summons, for the benefit of the observations which he might make, informed the admiral, that he was strongly of opinion, that the lower fort at least, might be carried by assault; some of the higher works he had his doubts about; but of the former, he spoke with confidence, and the others must fall of course. This assurance, coming from an officer of such experience and distinguished ability, afforded the highest satisfaction to Sir Edward Hughes, who was well aware of the labour, difficulty, and delay, which the dragging of heavy cannon up the heights, and the formal operations of a siege, would unavoidably occasion.

The necessary dispositions being made, the storming party, consisting of 450 seamen and marines, under their proper officers, covered on each flank by a company of pioneers, with 20 seamen armed with cutlasses, who carried the scaling ladders, and supported by three companies of seamen, as many marines, with two field pieces, who formed the reserve, advanced, at day-break on the 11th of January, to the assault. A small advanced party, under a serjeant, who might be considered as the forlorn hope, having made their way through the embrasures without discovery, were instantly followed by the whole storming party, who soon driving the enemy from their works, possessed themselves of the fort, and procured the immediate surrender of the ships and vessels in the harbour.

The humanity of the victors equalled, and was still more praise-worthy, than even their gallantry. Notwithstanding the fall of a brave and favourite officer, (Mr Long) with twenty of their fellows, besides two officers, and double that number wounded; and notwithstanding the heat and fury of a storm, when discipline, respect and command are at an end; yet, even under these circumstances, the seamen and marines disdained to stain their swords in the blood of a flying or prostrate enemy. Through this unexampled magnanimity and clemency, very few of the garrison lost their lives.

A numerous artillery, a considerable number of small arms, a valuable stock of gun-powder, with a great quantity of shot, and of various ordnance and military

**C A H P.** stores, were found in the place. In the harbour, two  
**XXXI.** ships richly laden, with a number of smaller vessels,  
 1782. were taken. The number of European military prisoners amounted to something near 400.

**War with** While other parts of India were desolated by the present and by former wars, the sequestered and happy  
**the Rajah** country of Benares, generally had the fortune to escape  
**of Benares.** the common calamity. Besides the security derived from the great distance of the sea, the sacred character ascribed to that city, which had through many ages been considered as the repository of the religion and learning of the Bramins, could not but endear it in the highest degree to the Hindoos; and the foreign ravagers of India, if they paid no respect, found it necessary, at least, to shew some attention to the prejudices of the conquered. Hostility indeed was not much provoked by a people, who, along with the most gentle and inoffensive manners, possessed such a spirit of industry, as had given to a whole country, the face of a garden in the highest state of culture and beauty, and whose labours were a common benefit to all who either lived near or had occasion to approach them.

The expences of the present war with Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, in which all the British presidencies were so deeply, and one at least so dangerously involved, rose to such an height, that the wealth and revenue of Bengal, great as these were, proved unequal to their supply. New sources were accordingly to be sought; and the weak and the wealthy were doomed, as usual, to administer to the wants of the strong and the warlike. The prosecution of these means of supply, led to the subsequent calamities of Benares; and suddenly plunged Mr Hastings, the Governor General, into a new war, at a great distance from the seat of his government.

For the better comprehension or illustration of this subject, it will be necessary to take some notice of the late state and government of that country, as well as of its relation to, and the means by which it became dependent on the East India Company.

The country of Benares lies far up the Ganges, not a great deal short of 600 miles, to the northwest of Calcutta. The river, without taking in its continual windings, points generally from the west to the east in its course through it. Its extent from north to south, including the districts of Chunar and Gazypour, which are united with it, is about 150 miles; nor is it much less from east to west. It was a part of those extensive

possessions, which the misfortunes of the court of Delli, enabled Sujah ul Dowlah, the Grand Vizier of the empire, and Nabob of Oude, to secure the actual sovereignty and possession of in his own family. The Rajah, Bulwant Sing, was tributary to Sujah ul Dowlah, for the country of Benares, and its dependencies, at a certain stated tribute or rent.

In the war which broke out in the year 1764, wherein Sujah ul Dowlah supported Cossim Ally Cawn, who had been the murderer of so great a number of English gentlemen at Patna, the Rajah Bulwant Sing, notwithstanding the relation in which he stood with Sujah, took a decided part in favour of the British, and rendered them essential and acknowledged services.

The contest ended so much to the disadvantage of Sujah Dowlah, that the British were allowed to dictate terms of peace to that Prince. It was, however, reckoned a matter absolutely requisite, both in point of honour and justice, to make some stipulations in favour of the Rajah, in order to secure him effectually from the resentment of Sujah Dowlah, which was known to be boundless and implacable. This was therefore laid down to General Carnac, when empowered by the Presidency of Bengal, in 1765, to settle the preliminary terms of peace; and he was ordered to secure Bulwant Sing in the possession of his country. Accordingly, by the fifth article of the treaty made with Sujah Dowlah, at Illahabad, which was soon after concluded by Lord Clive, Sujah was most solemnly bound to continue him in the possession of all the territories he had before the war, subject only to the payment of the same revenue as before. By reason of an inaccuracy, however, in the wording of this article, it appeared as if Sujah Dowlah had bound himself only for the person of Bulwant Sing, without any express provision being made for the continuance of the zemindaries in the Rajah's family. On the death of Bulwant Sing, therefore, in 1770, the Company found it necessary, warmly to interfere in their support, by procuring the investiture of Cheit Sing in the government of his father Bulwant's territories; and the negotiation of this affair was committed to Col. Harper. On this occasion, however, the young Prince was obliged to make a present of 20 lacks of rupees to the Nabob-Vizier, and to increase his annual tribute from  $21\frac{1}{2}$  to 24 lacks. But though matters now seemed to be fully settled between the Rajah and Sujah Dowlah, yet, whether from any subsequent infractions of the treaty by the Nabob-Vizier, or from apprehensions

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founded on the faithlessness and capriciousness of his disposition, it was found necessary to make a new settlement in confirmation of the former in the year 1773. This new treaty was concluded by Mr Hastings, who thought it necessary, for that purpose, to go in person to the Nabob's court, and was signed by him, as well as the Nabob-Vizier; whose avarice, however, was so great, that notwithstanding the many advantages gained by him on this occasion, he expressed the highest dissatisfaction with Mr Hastings, because he would not allow him to extort ten lacks of rupees from the young Rajah, as well as to deprive him of two forts which constituted a principal defence of his country.

Though the instrument on this, as well as the former occasion, was made perpetually binding on the parties, new arrangements took place on the death of the Nabob, and the accession of his son and successor, Assoff ul Dowlah, in 1775. By these, the sovereignty of Benares was entirely given up, and transferred to the Company, to whom the young Rajah, Cheit Sing, was in future to stand in the same degree of relation and vassalage in which he had before stood with the Nabob of Oude: being thus placed in the hands of his friends and allies, and freed from a most wretched tyranny to which he had been before exposed. The greatest hopes were therefore entertained, that a perpetual peace and amity would now take place, as the Rajah was assured by Mr Hastings, who had been appointed to the new and high office of Governor General, that no farther demands of tribute should be made upon him than what he had been formerly accustomed to pay, and that no change of government should in any manner of way affect this agreement. It was recommended indeed to him by the Governor General and Council, to raise and support a body of 2000 cavalry, or to increase his establishment of cavalry to that number; but this was not considered in any manner of way as an obligation, but rather a friendly advice for mutual safety.

It is not denied, that the Rajah of Benares continued to adhere to the engagements on his side, by the punctual discharge of the stipulated revenue, nor that his conduct was in every respect highly satisfactory, until new and unexpected demands occasioned such alteration in it, as proved at length the means of giving umbrage to the government of Calcutta. Upon intelligence of the war with France, it was determined by the Governor General and Council, in the month of July 1778, that the Rajah Cheit Sing should be re-

quired to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacks of rupees, towards the expences which this new exigency would impose on their government during the current year. It may be supposed, that the innovation thus proposed, and the danger of the precedent, affected the Rajah much more than the amount or value of the sum demanded. However that was, the Governor General informs us in his narrative, that after many excuses, and protestations of inability, the Rajah at length consented, with a very ill grace, to the payment, and discharged it with a worse.

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The increasing exigencies and expences of a war, which was becoming general throughout India, were not likely to produce any remission of these demands, when once the ice was broken, and the precedent established. They were annually repeated; while the unwillingness of compliance, and the backwardness of payment, became every year more apparent, and afforded farther room for dissatisfaction. During the many ages in which the Hindoo princes and landholders have been doomed to suffer the oppression and exorbitance of foreign power, a strict concealment of their wealth, and a constant plea of extreme poverty, have been the weak means which they generally adopted to elude the extortion and rapacity of their rulers. The Rajah of Benares resorted to this established practice; and even so early as the payment of the second year's subsidy, although he was known or supposed to be very rich, he affected to borrow money in small sums, and even to sell his plate and jewels, as demonstrations of his inability; and was still so slow in his payments, that it was found necessary to quicken him, by sending two battalions of sepoy to be quartered in his dominions, their pay to be charged to his accompt, until he made good the whole. The third year's subsidy was still worse paid, and the same remedy, of sending troops to live upon him, was again adopted. The demand of 2000 cavalry was also still insisted upon; but this was constantly evaded by the Rajah; and the mutual dissatisfaction and distrust continually increasing, he began at last to negotiate with the Indian princes, and seemed ready to withdraw his allegiance from the Company entirely.

Notwithstanding all this dissatisfaction, it was not pretended that the Rajah ever showed any design of openly revolting, and the oppression of the Company seemed to be the only reason of that coldness he shewed towards them. Matters, however, pro-

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Mr Hastings's  
journey to  
Benares.

He makes  
exorbitant  
demands  
upon the  
Rajah.

ceeded to such a length, that, on the 7th July 1781, Mr Hastings, the Governor General, set out on a journey from Calcutta to Benares. His arrival exceedingly alarmed the Rajah, the more especially as Mr Hastings had in his train one Oussaun Sing, a relation of his own, who, after dissipating his fortune by profligacy and vice, had been banished the country for his crimes.

The Rajah having met Mr Hastings with a great train of the principal people of the country, this circumstance was construed by the latter into a design of seizing his person, though it by no means appears that there was any foundation for such a suspicion. It soon appeared, that the treasures the Rajah possessed, or was supposed to possess, were the true objects of Mr Hastings's journey; and without the payment of a very large sum of money, no atonement could be made for his real or imaginary crimes. He behaved towards the unhappy prince, indeed, with civility at first; but at a private interview, according to the Rajah's account, the most exorbitant demands were made upon him; no less than an hundred lacks of rupees, or near 1,200,000 l. being required, together with the surrender of his fortrels named *Bidjiggur*, which Mr Hastings called one of the repositories of his treasure, but which by the Rajah himself was termed, "his family residence, the deposit of his women, and of his honour." Mr Hastings differed totally in his account of this conversation, which he affected to consider as merely accidental. He acknowledged, indeed, that the Rajah made him the most abject and humiliating concessions, and expressed great fears about Oussaun Sing, who had excited some sort of rebellion in the country of Benares; but that he himself declined any interference in the family quarrels of the Rajah; and he concluded by declaring, that he had been already deceived by his oaths and protestations, and that he should not now suffer his purpose to be changed by any succeeding concessions or declarations from that prince. The event, however, seemed to justify the Rajah's account of the matter; for on his arrival at the city of Benares, about the middle of August 1781, Mr Hastings sent the Rajah a note forbidding him to wait upon him in the evening, as he had proposed; and desiring, at the same time, that he should forbear any future visits, until he had obtained permission, as he had some matters previously to settle with him. This insult was followed by a message delivered by Mr Markham, the English resident at Benares, with

a paper containing the articles of accusation now framed against him, and demanding an immediate answer. The heads of this accusation were, That he had repeatedly evaded and broken his promise with respect to the payment of the subsidies; and that a loss was sustained in a particular instance, by Col. Carnac's corps, through that failure: That he had endeavoured to excite disorders in the English government, by means of secret emissaries: That he had mismanaged and misgoverned his own territories, by suffering the public perpetration of robberies and murders, in violation of the tenure by which he held them; but above all that he had shewed instances of infidelity and disaffection to government.

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Though the Rajah must have been undoubtedly much embarrassed by this extraordinary demand, he returned an answer by Mr Markham the same night, in which he set forth, that the payment of the subsidies had been much more regular than what was represented; that he had sent a letter to the Governor General, stating his distresses, and requesting a little longer time for one payment; but that, on receiving no answer, and being further pressed for payment he had used his utmost exertions to raise the money as speedily as possible. Almost the whole of his defence, indeed, proceeded upon the circumstance of his letters not being answered; and particularly with respect to the cavalry, of which he had raised one thousand, he says, that when he had written to the Governor General, expecting an order in consequence for their disposal, he had received no answer to this more than to others, and that both Mr Markham and he had expressed their surprise at his silence. The charge of employing emissaries to raise disturbances in the British government was totally denied, as was that of mismanaging his own legislation, and giving encouragement to robbers. All this, however, was delivered in the most humiliating and mean-spirited language, the abject prince concluding with a declaration, that he was the Governor's *slave*, in all cases whatever.

The defence of Cheit Sing was far from being satisfactory to Mr Hastings. Indeed, it is not probable that any thing, besides the payment of a large sum of money, could have had effect in justifying his conduct. The Governor affected to consider the Rajah's defence as a recrimination on himself, rather than a vindication; and though he did not deny that he had

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Puts him  
under ar-  
rest.

returned no answer to many of his letters, yet he insisted that it was the Rajah's duty to obey the positive orders of the Company, "and not to waste his time in writing letters of excuse, or cavil with his answers for evasions, or with his silence for delays."

In consequence of the alledged bad behaviour of Cheit Sing, therefore, Mr Hastings resolved to put him under arrest, in order to force him to comply with the demands of the Company. The execution of the business was committed to Mr Markham, who accordingly, accompanied by his usual attendants only, waited upon the Rajah, as if it had been merely for a customary visit; but then informed him, that he had orders to keep him in custody, until he should comply with the orders of the Governor General. Two companies of sepoy, belonging to Major Popham's detachment, were ordered to support Mr Markham in this dangerous affair.

The Rajah resigned himself with the greatest submission to the arrest, and assured the resident, that whatever the Governor General's orders might be, he would implicitly obey them. He hoped, he said, that he would allow him a subsistence; but as for his zemindary, his forts, and his treasure, he was ready to lay them at his feet, and his life itself, if it was required. He lamented much, and seemed exceedingly to feel, the ignominy to which he was exposed by this public disgrace; and intreated Mr Markham, that he would return to the Governor General, and give him an account of the full and ready obedience which he paid to his orders.

Succeeding letters soon followed Mr Markham. These were couched in terms of such extreme dependency, that the Governor General thought it necessary to prevent his apprehensions from operating in too great a degree, by informing him in a short note, that Mr Markham would explain particulars to him in the afternoon; and desiring him to let his mind be at rest, and not to conceive any terror or apprehension.

The resident had given him an early caution and charge, that he should order his people to behave in a quiet and orderly manner; for that any attempt towards his rescue, would be attended with inevitable destruction to himself. Upon Mr Markham's departure, he had left the Rajah in the custody of Lieutenant Stalker, who commanded his own guard, and of the Lieutenants Scott and Simes, who led the two grenadier companies of sepoy. The instructions given



to these officers were, That they should disarm every servant of the Rajah's: That they should allow him any eight or ten of his domestics, whom he might chuse or approve of, for the attendance of his person: That to guard against any deception, these persons, so appointed, were to be particularly shewn to the sepoy guard; and that the officers might indulge the Rajah in any request which was consistent with the security of his person.

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Just as Mr Markham was setting out with his final instructions, intelligence was received, that large bodies of armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagur, and proceeded directly to the palace in which their prince was confined, with a full determination to relieve him. The two companies of sepoy grenadiers who formed his guards, were stationed in an inclosed square, which surrounded the apartment in which he was confined; but it must certainly be considered as a surprising piece of negligence in their officers, to send them on such a dangerous piece of service without ammunition. This error was recollected when too late; and Major Popham sent another party to the assistance of the former; but they found the place already so blocked up by great parties of armed men, that they could not by any means force a passage. Instead of this, the appearance of the last mentioned party produced an immediate attack on the two grenadier companies, who, being destitute of their usual means of defence, were almost entirely cut to pieces, or desperately wounded. The three British officers are said to have sold their lives dearly; they were found covered with wounds, and lying almost side by side.—Eighty-two sepoys were killed on the spot, and 92 desperately wounded. The Rajah, overwhelmed with terror and dismay, was carried off through a wicket which looked towards the river, and was let down its steep banks, by a kind of rope made of turbans tied together, into a boat, which instantly conveyed him to the other side. A party of the rioters, who had loitered too long in the palace, were quickly driven out of it with loss, by the second detachment of sepoys who came up with the ammunition, for want of which the former had been destroyed.

The Rajah makes his escape.

Though the Rajah had now a fair opportunity of crushing the English power in a manner at once, by making an attack on the Governor General, who, with about 30 English gentlemen, was left defenceless in a

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Conduct  
Mr Hastings.

fort of villa inclosed in the suburbs of Benares; neither he, nor the tumultuous army who had rescued him, thought of attempting any thing against him. Instead of this, the spiritless prince seemed entirely to sink under the apprehensions of evils about to follow what had already happened. Undetermined, therefore, whether to place his confidence in negotiation or in arms, he fled from Ramnagur in the dead of the night, taking with him his most valuable effects, and took refuge in one of his strongest fortresses, named Luteespoore.

Neither the late bloody catastrophe, nor the imminent danger to which Governor Hastings was personally exposed, seem to have produced the smallest effect upon his firmness and resolution. He proceeded instantly to regulate the affairs of his kingdom as though nothing had happened. Oussaun Sing was appointed to the administration of the revenues and government of the country, until (as he said in his narrative) it should be determined to whom the zemindary might legally belong, and who might be in a capacity to receive it; at the same time, to preserve as much as possible the public tranquillity, under such strange and unexpected measures, he immediately dispatched orders to Captain Mayaffre, who lay in the city of Mirzapore, with the remainder of Major Popham's detachment, and to a battalion of sepoys from Colonel Blair's garrison at Chunar, to advance without delay to the capital; as also for a regiment of sepoys to proceed from Dinapore, with all possible celerity to Benares.

The cities of Mirzapore and Chunar lie up the Ganges to the south-west of Benares, in the direct way to Illahabad, and other parts of the Nabob-Vizier's dominions. Mirzapore is an open city, and is about 40 miles distant from Benares, in a direct line across the country, though, by following the windings of the river, that distance would probably be more than doubled. Chunar lies about mid-way between both; it is the capital of a considerable territory of the same name, and is a very important fortress, from its commanding one of the principal passages on the Ganges; it was accordingly garrisoned by the English in the year 1764, and ever since retained as a curb upon Sujah ul Dowlah and his successors. Dinapore lies in a direction opposite to these cities, a great way down the river, in the Bahar country.

In the mean time the Governor General began to take measures for securing himself from the storm which was ready to fall upon him. Ramnagur was at that

time but slightly garrisoned, and therefore the Governor thought of attacking it; but as it seemed too hazardous to expose the small remainder of Major Popham's detachment in this service, he determined to wait the arrival of some farther reinforcements. This gave an opportunity to Ramjeewaun, one of the Rajah's domestics, to assemble a body of forces for the defence of the place; on which orders were dispatched to Chunar for two mortars, and other proper measures taken for reducing it; but, through the inconsiderate rashness and vanity of Captain Mayaffre, every thing was frustrated, and the enterprise ended in utter ruin and disgrace. That officer being, as senior, appointed to the supreme command, and hoping to establish his reputation by some signal exploit, marched on to the attack without consideration, or even reconnoitring the place, or asking for any information concerning it. The consequence was such as usually attends all rash and ill-conducted enterprises. The troops, involved in the narrow streets and lanes of the city, were fired upon in every direction, and slain by a safe and unseen enemy. Captain Doxat, who commanded the rangers, and led the attack, was himself, with 23 of his men, almost instantly killed, besides a number wounded. The Chunar battalion led by Captain Blair, which bravely attempted to support the attack, was not much longer in action, when 57 men lay dead, and 41 were wounded. Captain Mayaffre had the good fortune not to survive the disgrace. The retreat was, however, conducted by Captain Blair with such skill, as checked the pursuit of the enemy, which was continued to within four miles of Chunar.

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Misfortune of  
Captain  
Mayaffre,  
Aug. 20.

By this unexpected disaster, the Governor General was involved in greater danger than ever. His situation at Benares was such, that he could not possibly stay, nor was it in his power to quit the place without extreme danger.—A great number of boats had been collected the very day after Mayaffre's defeat, with a view to attack the Governor's quarters, whose force amounted only to 450 men, a number insufficient to man the posts even against one single attack. He commenced his retreat, therefore, in the dusk of the evening; and, by his sudden departure, notwithstanding the crowd of people, and the quantity of baggage with which they were encumbered, the troops had the good fortune to get clear off from the suburbs, without molestation, and arrived at Chunar in the morning, bringing back with them a battalion of sepoys, whom they

CHAP. met by the way, and whom Colonel Blair had sent to  
XXXI. their assistance.

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Conduct  
of the  
Begums of  
Oude.

Though the Governor General had already enough on his hands to occupy all his attention, he found himself involved in a new embarrassment, which, in the present crisis, was not a little distressing. This was the approach of the Nabob-Vizier, who having originally intended, as a mark of respect, if not of homage, to meet him at Benares, had set out from his capital for that purpose; and instead of being deterred by the present state of affairs, he had actually used the greater expedition in his journey upon that account. Nothing could be more perplexing than his arrival at this time. He was to be received and treated as a friend, at the same time that there were strong reasons for suspecting him to be an enemy. His whole dominions were already in a state of commotion and disorder; and the little attention which he paid to the violence and outrage of the people, looked as if these acts had met with his countenance and approbation. For no sooner had the rebellion manifested itself in Benares, than the contagion spread through all the neighbouring countries under his government. And it was particularly observable, and served to increase all the suspicions with respect to his own designs, that it raged in none with so much violence, as in those which were under the influence of the princesses, his mother and grandmother, who are usually distinguished under the appellation of the Begums of Oude.—These ladies, who resided at Fyzabad, on the river Dewa, the second capital of his dominions, openly espoused the cause of Cheit Sing; and not only publicly encouraged and invited men to enlist in his service, but suffered their own immediate servants to join in attacking the English troops. Their example and influence, corresponding with the disposition of the people, produced such instantaneous effects, that not only the city of Fyzabad, and the adjoining country, but those extensive territories on the other side of the Dewa, which, under the name of Gooruckpore and Burriage, stretch to the feet of the northern mountains, were every where in arms, and in declared hostility to the Company. Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, with two battalions of regular sepoys, which he commanded in the Nabob's service, had the charge of Fyzabad, and the countries in that quarter committed to his care. These troops were repeatedly attacked, surrounded, and many of them cut to pieces; their com-

mander being himself so hard pressed and encompassed, that he narrowly escaped the same fate. CHAP. XXXI.

As we have mentioned the Begums of Oude, it may not be entirely unnecessary to observe, that women of that rank and condition frequently possess great wealth, popularity, and influence in India; for that through the opportunities afforded by weak reigns and minorities, along with their being freed by situation from the customary restraints of the sex, they are not seldom enabled to take a great share in the appointment of ministers, and the direction of public affairs; and their power appearing only in the most pleasing and popular parts of its exercise, they generally acquire great weight and confidence with the people, and are much beloved by them.

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Along with all those circumstances of public notoriety, which concurred in rendering the Nabob's visit exceedingly perplexing, repeated intimations were given to the Governor General, cautioning him to guard against private treachery; and he was particularly warned not to visit him, without so strong a guard as would be fully competent to the security of his person. He therefore endeavoured, by letter, to dissuade the Nabob from the farther prosecution of his journey, requesting that he would return to Lucknow, and there wait his own arrival, which would be as soon as the present disturbances would afford leisure for that purpose. The Nabob, however, understanding the difficulties and dangers in which the Governor General was involved, determined to seize that opportunity of giving a proof of his zeal and attachment, by proceeding on his way with the greater expedition; while the former, willing to remove any ideas of distrust which might be excited by the preceding letter, sent another, returning his acknowledgments for so kind an attention. It appears, however, that the greatest harmony subsisted between them during the whole time they were together.

In the mean time, the commotion which had begun in Benares, spread through all the neighbouring countries. One half of the dominions of Oude was in a state of actual rebellion, while great part of the Bahar country was almost in the same situation. The downfall of the English power was considered as so unavoidable, that even the chiefs and towns of least consideration shewed their eagerness to share in the glory of contributing towards an object which appeared so desirable to the whole country. Thus all the commotion throughout India.

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cations were so effectually cut off, that the Governor General was kept almost in a state of total ignorance at Chunar, both with respect to what passed in the adjoining countries, and the success or failure of the various expresses he had sent to different parts of the country for assistance.

During this inactive period, it is most probable that the Rajah published his manifesto, addressed to the other Rajahs and Chiefs of India. In this, after giving an account of the treatment his father and himself had met with, and which had given occasion to the present troubles, he called upon them to unite in one common cause against such an insidious and rapacious enemy. With regard to himself, he said, that every complaint had been heard against him, and every wretch encouraged to misrepresent him; he had been continually harassed by pretended crimes, and calumnies forged on purpose to extort money from him. He seemed to be particularly affected with the charges laid against him of misgovernment, and of authorising or tolerating murders, violence, and robberies in his dominions. To exculpate himself from this charge in the most striking manner, he drew a contrast betwixt his own dominions, and those belonging to the Company. "Look to my districts," says he, "look to theirs! Do not the different pictures they present to you mark the limits of them more than the boundaries which nature itself has drawn out? My fields are cultivated, my villages full of inhabitants, my country is a garden, and my subjects are happy. Here the orphans and the widows convey their property, and reside without any fear of rapacity and avarice. The traveller, from one end of my country to the other, lays down his burthen, and sleeps in security. Look to the provinces of the Company! There famine and misery stalk hand in hand through uncultivated fields and deserted villages! There you meet with nothing but aged men, who are not able to transport themselves away, or robbers watching to way-lay their helplessness! When any of the servants of the English have passed thro' my country, every kindness has been shewn them, and all their wants supplied; even their very coolies, (*porters*) have had their burthens taken off, and carried for them.—Let any of them be asked, if they met with such treatment in the countries under the Company's management? Were they not almost continually robbed, and in danger of their lives?"

The fortress of Chunar, which now afforded a secure asylum to the Governor General, is situated on

the fourth shore of the Ganges. The principal force of the enemy was assembled at a town called Pateetah, about seven miles to the southward of Chunar, in the direct road to the noted pass of Suckroot, as well as the strong fortress of Lutteespore. Major Popham's regiment, with all the force that could be spared from the garrison at Chunar, were formed into a detachment under his command, and encamped about a mile from the town, on their way to the enemy. Towards the end of the month, Lieutenant Polhill, who, with six companies of sepoy's belonging to the Nabob-Vizier's body-guard, had arrived from Illahabad, was ordered to encamp on the opposite shore of the river, in order to keep open the communication on that side. This officer, two days after his arrival, had the good fortune to defeat a considerable body of the enemy, stationed at a small fort called Seeker, within sight of Chunar; and a few days after, the whole body at Pateetah was defeated by Captain Blair, though not without very considerable difficulty, and the loss of 48 men killed and 85 wounded, being about a fourth part of his whole number. Aug. 27.

This victory, though dearly bought, produced the usual effects of elating the one party and dispiriting the other. The English commander, having collected his forces from various parts, and being supplied with money from the Nabob-Vizier, soon found himself in a capacity to vanquish any force which the Rajah could propose to bring against him. The troops under Major Popham consisted of four complete regiments, and one battalion of sepoy's, with three companies of Europeans, six companies of the Nabob's body-guards under Lieutenant Polhill, and thirty European artillery-men. These were all commanded by experienced officers, and farther reinforcements were hourly expected. In opposition to these, the Rajah commanded a body of 7690 regular and irregular troops, besides a vast rabble of all denominations, whose numbers would undoubtedly contribute, in every action, to disorder and confound the rest. The Rajah's confidence in these troops, however, was not so great, but that he would gladly have made up peace, if that had been possible; but this was a measure to which the Governor General seems to have been averse from first to last. No answer was therefore returned to his letters; and hostile measures were resolved upon. Sep. 3.

The first enterprise projected by the English commander was the reduction of the fortress of Ramna-

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gur, which would put him in possession of the capital without farther difficulty ; after which the Rajah, cut off from the seat of government, and all his resources, would soon find his forces dwindle, and all his other fortresses fall into the hands of the enemy. Battering cannon and mortars were accordingly ordered to Major Popham's camp, and every thing necessary for conducting the operations collected with all possible diligence ; but before this could be accomplished, a native of Chunar, named Bundoo Cawn, who had formerly given extraordinary proofs of his attachment to the English interest, undertook to put him in possession not only of that place, but eventually of the whole dominions of the Rajah. This man, who seems to have possessed a very great skill in the methods of conducting such operations, began with representing to the British commanders, that as the Rajah's forces were principally collected at the two forts of Lutteespore and Pateetah, where they were daily augmenting in number, it would become exceedingly difficult to dislodge him, if he were allowed much longer time to strengthen himself. He observed also, that although the walls of Pateetah, and the defences of the fort, were of no great moment merely as fortifications ; yet from the peculiar situation of the town, the nearness of Lutteespore, and the fresh forces with which the Rajah could constantly supply the defence, it would be found a matter of no little difficulty to reduce it, even at that time ; nor could the reduction of it be considered as a matter of much moment, while Lutteespore remained in the hands of the enemy. The next object then must be the reduction of Lutteespore ; but it was impossible to assail it on that side, nor could it be attacked on the other, while the enemy were in possession of the impracticable pass of Suckroot, which, lying at its back in the gorge of the mountains, kept open the communications for reinforcements and supplies of every kind, as well as a free and direct intercourse with the strong fortress of Bidjeygur, where the Rajah kept his treasures. He proposed, therefore, that the main part of the army should proceed directly against Pateetah in the front ; and that, while the attention of the enemy was thus naturally directed to one side, a division of the most active troops should, under his guidance, by a long and circuitous march of several days through the woods and mountains, come round in such a manner to the back of the pass of Suckroot, that it would fall into their hands without any difficulty ; the consequence of which would be, that the enemy must



instantly abandon their strongholds of Lutteespore and Pateetah, or be cooped up in them to their inevitable destruction.

This advice being accepted, Major Crabbe, with his own regiment of sepoy, and the six companies of the Vizier's guards, under Lieutenant Polhill, with four six pounders, and a five one-half inch howitzer, were appointed to the enterprise against Suckroot. They left the camp at eleven o'clock at night, on the 15th of September; and by three in the morning Major Popham advanced with the main body to the attack of Pateetah. This place he found so strongly fortified by art and nature, that the reduction of it in the usual way appeared impossible. It was therefore resolved to attempt it by storm, which succeeded so well, that the town and fort were almost instantly abandoned by the enemy; at the same time that Major Crabbe, who, by the assistance of Bundoo Cawn, had finally overcome all his difficulties, arrived at the pass of Suckroot, drove the enemy from their post, and took possession of it. In the mean time, the fugitives from Suckroot and Pateetah arriving at Lutteespore, where the Rajah himself was, overwhelmed every thing with confusion and dismay. This pusillanimous prince, giving up all for lost, fled from the city the same day, with a few of his most faithful followers; and having taken a circuit round the mountains, (as the pass at Suckroot was now shut up,) struck into the road to Bidjeygur, the only place of refuge he had now left.

The Rajah found as little quiet in his new asylum as he had done before in his other fortresses. On the approach of Major Popham he fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him the greatest part of his treasures. Notwithstanding every effort however, the place held out till the 10th November, when it was surrendered by capitulation. The Governor General wished that the wealth found in the place should be the reward of those who had so eminently distinguished themselves throughout the war; and the officers, fearing that such a proceeding might not be agreeable to the Council, proceeded to a division of the cash as expeditiously as possible. The sum to be distributed amounted on this occasion to 312,500 l. of which the commander in Chief had 36,750 l.; each of the majors 5619 l.; the captains upwards of 3000 l.; and the subalterns somewhat more than 1400 l. The shares of the native officers were but small; and the common sepoy had about six pounds each.

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Success of  
Majors  
Crabbe  
and Popham.

Sept. 15.

Rajah flies  
leaving  
behind  
him im-  
mense  
treasures.

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By this division it was supposed, that about two-thirds of the cash were disposed of; but the rest of the spoil, consisting of large quantities of valuable merchandise, rubies, emeralds, diamonds, &c. was expected to produce a much larger sum. The suspicions of the officers, however were soon verified. The Council of Calcutta passed resolutions, importing, that the Governor General had not formally, nor according to any liberal construction which could be put upon his letters, renounced on the part of the Company, as their representative, their legal right to the property of the booty found at Bidjeygur. They alledged also, that the precipitate and illegal division made by the officers, shewed, that they did not consider themselves as acting by proper authority; for which reason, they resolved, that such steps should be taken as might bring the matter to a legal determination; leaving, however, to the officers the alternative of submitting the whole matter to the determination of the Board; in which case it was promised that the Governor General's recommendation should be literally considered; and it was laid down also as a farther condition, that the officers should lend the Company their shares of the prize-money, excepting only what each should declare upon honour was necessary for his private demands; and a refusal, or failure of giving an answer within a limited time, was to be accounted disobedience of orders.

New Rajah appointed.

The Governor General having gone to the peaceable city of Benares, which now wore its usual face of tranquillity, immediately proceeded to settle the succession to the government; and the male line being now cut off by the exclusion of Cheit Sing and his brother, and not thinking it would be prudent to put the submission of the people to the test of a new species of dominion, he determined that the next lineal heir to Bulwant Sing, named Baboo Mehipnarain, should succeed in the Rajahship. The succession being thus fixed, a new and very advantageous settlement with respect to the tribute or revenue was concluded by the Governor General with the new Rajah, and his guardian or minister, they having agreed to pay the Company a perpetual rent of four millions of rupees, or about half a million sterling a-year. So that the Company have gained a standing revenue of about 200,000 l. a-year, by the contest with Cheit Sing, independent of their claim on the ready-money spoil, which was seized by the army.

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*Designs of France—Engagements between M. de Suffrein and Sir Edward Hughes—Indians defeated at Tellicherry—Colonel Braithwaite defeated by Tippoo Saib—French and Indians take Cuddalore and Permacoil—Hyder again defeated by Coote, who is succeeded by General Stuart—Trincmale retaken by the French—Peace with the Mahrattas—Expedition and success of Col. Humberstone—Expedition and unfortunate end of Gen. Matthews—Death of Hyder Ally, who is succeeded by Tippoo Saib—Mangalore besieged by Tippoo—War on the Coromandel coast—Death of Sir Eyre Coote—Cuddalore besieged by General Stuart—End of the war in the East Indies.*

**W**HILE General Sir Eyre Coote was gallantly and successfully opposing the vast superiority of force, and the immense resources of the redoubtable invader of the Carnatic, and Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Hector Monro were directing the British arms with vigour and effect against the Dutch settlements, France was unwearied in her endeavours to establish such a land and naval force at her African islands; as would not only be the means of recovering her ancient power and influence on the coast of Coromandel, but of giving such a fatal and decisive blow to her old rivals, as might enable her, with the aid of the native powers, to chase them entirely out of India.

The new alliance with Holland, and the inability of that republic to protect the great sources of her power and wealth in the East, against the designs of the English, was an additional spur to France, for endeavouring, by all means, and at all events, to ac-

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quire a naval superiority in India. Nothing less could effectually protect the Dutch settlements; and as Sir Eyre Coote had so unexpectedly and effectually opposed and given such severe checks to Hyder Ally, it seemed that nothing less could secure to that conqueror the complete reduction of the Carnatic, particularly including Madras, without which nothing else could be considered as secure.

M. de Suffrein, after his unsuccessful attack upon the English squadron and convoy in Port Praya Bay, fulfilled, however, (as we have formerly seen), the second object of his commission, by securing the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope from the hostile designs of that armament; and having left a sufficient French garrison behind for their future protection, proceeded, with the remainder of his force, to join M. de Orves, who was his superior in command, at the island of Mauritius. Upon this junction, the French commanders having now a force of ten sail of the line, besides one fifty gun ship, and several large frigates, they sailed for the coast of Coromandel, being accompanied by a number of transports and storeships, together with a considerable body of land forces; and M. de Orves dying of the fleet devolved on M. de Suffrein.

M. de Orves dying is succeeded by Suffrein.

The British squadron under Captain Alms, with the troops under General Medows, who had sailed for India while the French were still at the Cape, having met with much adverse weather, and being greatly shattered, were in the utmost danger of falling a prey to their enemies, who were much their superiors in force, even if they had met with no misfortune. Only one ship, however, (the *Hannibal* of 50 guns), was taken; and that not without a gallant defence, even when surrounded by the enemy in a very dark and tempestuous night. The other ships of war, with the convoy, arrived safely at their places of destination.

Sir Edward Hughes arrives at Madras, Feb. 8.

In the beginning of February 1782, Admiral Sir Edward Hughes arrived at Madras, for which he had set sail, after the taking of Trincomale, in order to procure supplies of naval stores and provisions. As his squadron consisted only of six ships of the line, and these had been so long out at sea that they stood greatly in need of reparation, he was much alarmed by the news of the French fleet being on the coast. However, he was happily relieved from his apprehensions by the arrival of Captain Alms in the *Monmouth* of 64 guns, along with the *Hero* of 74, and the *Isis* of 50. Every

method was now taken to repair the ships, and recruit the land forces; but before this could be accomplished, the French fleet suddenly appeared in the offing, to the number of 12 sail of the line, six large frigates, eight large transports, and six captured vessels. This movement was made on the supposition that Sir Edward Hughes had not received the reinforcement above mentioned, and consequently that it would be an easy matter to destroy his small squadron, or perhaps to surprise him: but when it was discovered that the English fleet consisted of nine instead of five ships of war, and that the admiral was disposing his vessels in the most advantageous manner in order to make a resolute defence, Suffrein thought proper to stop short, and cast anchor about four miles without the road; and, in the afternoon, giving over all thoughts of an attack, he suddenly weighed anchor, and stood to the southward; but was pursued, without loss of time, by Sir Edward Hughes, who continued the chase all night and part of the next day. In the morning, he perceived their fleet separated, and part of their convoy exposed. The consequence of which was, that six were captured, of which five were English prizes, newly taken, with their crews on board; but the sixth, taken by Captain Lumley in the *Isis*, proved to be the *Lauristan* transport, a most valuable prize, of 1300 tons burden, whose cargo consisted of a considerable train of artillery, intended for a present to Hyder Ally, a large quantity of gun-powder, and a complete assortment of other military stores. On board this prize were also a considerable number of land officers, and 300 private soldiers of the regiment of *Lausanne*. The rest of the convoy was saved only through the deficiency of frigates on the part of the British. The only frigate, indeed, in their possession was the *Seahorse* of 20 guns, which was so far from being able to take others, that it was with difficulty she was saved from being taken herself.

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Takes six prizes.

As the hostile squadrons were now very near each other, the British admiral used every method in his power to bring his adversary to an engagement; nor indeed did M. Suffrein seem to decline it. After various manœuvres, however, the English commander being to leeward, and without wind sufficient to work his ships, found himself under a necessity of coming to action on disadvantageous terms; while M. de Suffrein was enabled to bring eight of his best ships to direct their whole attack upon five of the English, of

Sea fight, in which Suffrein is worsted by Hughes.

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which the *Isis*, of 50 guns, was one; the *Eagle*, *Monmouth*, *Worcester*, and *Burford*, four of their best ships, under the most approved commanders, being idle spectators in the van, without a possibility of coming to the assistance of their fellows. Sir Edward Hughes was in the *Superbe* of 74 guns, which formed the central ship: the four below the admiral were, the *Hero*, Captain Wood, of the same force; the *Isis*, Lumley; the *Monarca*, Gell, of 68 guns; and the *Exeter* of 64; the latter commanded by Commodore King and Captain Reynolds. Upon these the attack fell.

The squadron being then on the larboard tack, the *Exeter* was the sternmost ship; and being, through the failure of wind, as well as from her being a bad sailor, considerably separated from her second a-head, three of the French ships bore down directly upon her, and commenced a furious attack; while M. de Suffrein, in the *Hero*, with several other ships, bore down in the same manner upon the *Superb*, and fell with no less fury upon the admiral. These two ships were of course exceedingly hard pressed, and could not avoid suffering extremely, under such a weight of fire as was poured on all sides upon them. Yet, after enduring all these disadvantages for about two hours, and sorely wounded as they had been in that time, a squall of wind coming suddenly in their favour at six o'clock, the five English ships became in turn the aggressors, and renewed the action with such vigour and effect, that in 25 minutes time, it being then near dark, those of the enemy within their reach, after having visibly sustained considerable loss, suddenly hauled their wind, and the whole French squadron stood off to the north-east.

The *Superbe*, besides having her main yard shot to pieces in the flings, and neither a brace nor a bow line left entire, was so severely wounded in her hull, that at the time the enemy bore away, she had no less than five feet water in her hold; and it was not until a number of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, that it could be prevented from gaining on the pumps. The state of the *Exeter* had been the most calamitous through the action that could almost be possibly imagined. She had undergone the fire in all directions of almost the whole French squadron, and had from three to five ships at times laid upon her, until she was at length reduced nearly to a wreck; and if it had not been for the prompt and gallant assistance of Captain Wood, of the *Hero*, she could scarcely have escaped going to the bottom.

Captain Stephens, of the admiral's ship, and Captain Reynolds, of the commodore's, two brave and distinguished officers, lost their lives in this unequal and imperfect action. The whole loss of men amounted to 32 slain, and 95 wounded; of which 30 of the former, and 87 of the latter, were in the *Superbe*, *Exeter*, and *Hero*. The unshaken fortitude displayed by Commodore King, under the long pressure of so vast a superiority of force, and the fierce attack of so many fresh ships coming up in succession to take a close and steady aim as at a dead mark, while they still expected that every broadside must have decided the fate of the *Exeter*, could not have been sufficiently praised or admired. In the most desperate state of the action, the blood and mangled brains of Captain Reynolds were dashed over him by a cannon ball, in such a manner that he was for some little time absolutely blinded; yet he still preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper; and when at the heel of the action, and the *Exeter* already in the state of a wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon her, he laconically answered, "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks."

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The great damage sustained by these ships, obliged Sir Edward to proceed to Trincomale, in order to refit; in which he was so expeditious, that he returned to Madras before the middle of March. In his way back to Trincomale he was joined by the *Sultan* and *Mignanime*, two ships of 74 guns, but whose crews were very sickly, and much reduced by the scurvy. The design of his present voyage was to supply the garrison at Trincomale with stores and troops sufficient to put it out of any danger from the enemy, as well as to cover and receive the convoy with troops and stores which was daily expected from England. This latter part of the design, however, being known to the French admiral, he determined to use every effort to cut off the convoy, or prevent it joining him.

This brought on another engagement on the 12th of April 1782, in which the English fleet had again the misfortune of being to the leeward of the enemy. At nine in the morning, the British admiral made a signal for the line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, at two cables length distance asunder; the enemy being then about six miles off, north by east, and the wind in the same quarter. The situation of the French fleet was every way favourable; as that of the English was

Another  
sea-fight,  
April 12.

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disagreeable and dangerous ; being hemmed in, on a rocky shore, by an enemy greatly superior, who had it in their power to chuse what mode of attack they judged most proper.—Their choice in this respect indeed was so exceedingly various, that they seemed to be at no small loss how to determine themselves ; but at last, after three hours deliberation, five sail, which composed their van, stretched along to engage that of the English fleet ; while the admiral, with seven other ships of the line, bore down directly upon Sir Edward Hughes in the centre with his two seconds, the Monmouth, Captain Alms, a-head, and the Monarca, Captain Gell, astern. The French admiral in the Heros, seconded by the L'Orient, both of 74 guns, bore down within pistol shot of the Superbe, pouring in a most dreadful fire, as if they intended to board and carry her off at once. This terrible encounter, however, was but of short duration. In ten minutes the French found the engagement so exceedingly severe, and their damage so prodigious, that they thought proper to abandon the attack of the Superbe, and fall upon the Monmouth, which was already closely and equally engaged. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the latter had her mizen mast shot away ; and a few minutes after, her main mast shared the same fate, so that she could not be kept from falling to the leeward. Every effort was used by the French to take her ; but the admiral bore down to her relief, assisted by the Sultan and Monarca, who covered her with such a fire, that the enemy were soon glad to relinquish their prize. The battle, however, still continued to rage with unabated violence. The English hoped, that the disadvantages under which they had laboured during the former part of the engagement, would be remedied by the usual change of wind in the afternoon ; but being disappointed in this also, the admiral found himself under a necessity of making a signal for the squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line ; still, however, continuing to fight throughout the whole evolution. At last, on the approach of night, finding himself in no more than fifteen fathom water, and being apprehensive that the Monmouth, in her disabled situation, might drift ashore, he made a signal for the squadron to anchor ; and the enemy, at the same time, having drawn off in great disorder to the eastward, the action entirely ceased.

In the attack on the Superbe, above mentioned, the French Admiral's ship, the Heros, had been so very much torn, that M. Suffrein was obliged to shift his



flag to the Hannibal, a French ship of the same force; and, soon after dusk, a frigate of 40 guns happening to come too close to the Isis of 50, was obliged to strike her colours; though, by reason of the weak and shattered state of that vessel, she afterwards found means to escape. Both squadrons, indeed, had suffered so much in this action, that neither of them was able to make any farther attempt on the other; so that they continued inactive for several days, each being busily employed in repairing their own damages, and in watching the motions of the enemy. At last, on the 19th, the French April 19. made a motion, as if they designed to come to another action; but, when they came to the distance of about two miles from the British fleet, their resolution seemed to fail them, and they suddenly stood off again; so that the British admiral had an opportunity of getting into Trincomale, where he refitted his ships in the best manner he could.

In this action, Captain Alms had the fortune to be peculiarly distinguished; and it was remarkable that his situation in the Monmouth on this day should so nearly resemble that of commodore King, and of the Exeter, in the last action. No less than 45 were killed, and 102 wounded, in the Monmouth only; which was probably a full third of her crew. It was much and generally regretted, that his recollection of such an action should have been embittered, as it was, by the loss of his son; a most gallant youth, who having been just made a lieutenant in the admiral's ship, fell, on that day, in a noble emulation of his father. The whole loss sustained in the squadron amounted to 137 killed, and to 430 wounded. The loss of men on the French side, as stated in their public account, by no means accords with former experience, being stated only at 139 killed, and 364 wounded.

After this engagement, the French fleet proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port on the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the southward of Trincomale, where they were detained till the month of June in repairing their damages; so that all the mighty hopes they had conceived now ended in nothing. Neither of the actions, indeed had been decisive in favour of the English; yet they were of no little importance in their consequences. From the great force which France, at an immense expence, had long been collecting in her African islands, it had been generally expected, that she was about to strike a decisive blow against the British power in the east. With this idea,

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Hyder Ally had first ventured into the Carnatic; and it was on the same principle, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, that he had rejected all proposals of accommodation. Nothing, therefore, could prove a greater mortification to him than such evident proofs of the naval superiority of the English, as he now saw his hopes of taking Madrafs, deposing the Nabob of Arcot, and putting his son, Tippoo Saib, in possession of the Carnatic, as far distant as ever.

The mortification which Hyder would naturally feel on this account was by no means alleviated by his success on land. The fortress of Tellicherry had been blocked up even after its relief by Sir Edward Hughes in the manner above related. The troops which blockaded it were not indeed qualified for carrying on a siege; but as all the avenues were very strictly guarded, it was hoped that the place would soon be obliged to submit through famine. In the beginning of the year, however, Major Abingdon having arrived there from Bombay, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, formed a design of relieving the place, and opening a communication with the neighbouring country. For this purpose he encamped at first without the town, by which he was the better enabled to discover the situation of the enemy, and could more immediately commence his operations; while his lying quiet for some days, and a vain opinion of their own strength so effectually amused them, that they seemed to pay no regard to him. The British Commander having, in consequence of this security, found means to draw into his camp as many of the garrison as could be spared, surprised all their forts before day-light on the morning of the 8th of January 1782. Pursuing his success with redoubled vigour, he stormed their fortified camp the same day, and totally defeated their army. Saddos Cawn, who commanded for Hyder, retired with his family, and a party of his best troops, into a house of a most singular construction, and exceedingly strong. It was scooped out of the inside of a hill, and the walls formed of the solid rock; yet, notwithstanding these natural advantages, the fortresses were at last forced with considerable slaughter; and Saddos Cawn, with his family, who had retired to an inner recess, which was bomb-proof, were taken prisoners. Some hundreds were killed on the spot, and fourteen or fifteen hundred taken prisoners; a very considerable quantity of artillery and military stores, with a number of elephants, were also found in the

Indians  
defeated  
at Telli-  
cherry,  
Jan. 8.

forts and redoubts; and the communications with the country were not only opened, but the coast cleared of the enemy for several miles on each side of Tellicherry.

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Whatever might be the vexation, however, which Hyder Ally underwent in consequence of this stroke, he did not remit in his endeavours to retaliate on the enemy, and for this he soon met with a proper opportunity. Colonel Braithwaite had, for some considerable time, commanded a detached body of forces, called the southern army, and which was destined to the relief of Tanjore and the neighbouring provinces. Sir Eyre Coote had also, very early in the year, been making great exertions in order to proceed to the southward from Madrafs, with a view to counteract the designs of Hyder Ally and the French on the side of Pondicherry; but was so destitute of the means necessary for accomplishing his purpose, that he could not, without the expence of much time and labour, make a movement even for a little way. It appears likewise, from a letter to the Secretary of State, that Sir Eyre Coote had lost his authority over the southern army so far, that he could not make them co-operate with his own forces.

Colonel Braithwaite, with about 2000 excellent infantry, and a body of 250 cavalry, and 13 field-pieces, lay on the banks of the river Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of the kingdom of Tanjore. Thus situated in a flat and open country, without any advantageous post, and where assistance in case of any disaster was impossible, his only security consisted in the distance of Hyder Ally's army, who were also separated from the English forces by many large and deep rivers. These, however, were a very ineffectual barrier against the Indian army, who had been for several years accustomed, as one of their common military exercises, to cross not only the largest rivers in the country, but even arms of the sea itself. Tippoo Saib, therefore, resolved, at all events, to make his way to the place where Colonel Braithwaite lay, and to overwhelm him with numbers before he could either remove or procure assistance. In this expedition Tippoo was attended by Monsr. Lally with about 400 French; his native forces being estimated at no less than 20,000, of whom more than one half were cavalry. With this formidable power he advanced so suddenly, that Colonel Braithwaite was surrounded before he had the least apprehension of danger, and

Colonel  
Braith-  
waite en-  
tirely de-  
feated by  
Tippoo  
Saib, Feb.  
16. 18.

C H A P. consequently while totally unprepared for any attack.

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The engagement commenced on the 16th of February 1782, but was not decided until the 18th; and, during twenty-six hours of those three days, it is said, that an uninterrupted fire of cannon and musketry was kept up on both sides. The British Commander, finding himself entirely surrounded, though severely wounded and bleeding fast, could not be prevailed on to withdraw from the action even for a moment. He threw his detachment into the form of a hollow square, having his thirteen field-pieces dispersed along its several faces, with his small body of cavalry in the centre, in order to present a front to every attack. Tippoo Saib at first endeavoured, by a violent cannonade on all sides, to break or disorder some of the faces of the square, and then, by rushing impetuously forward with his cavalry, to complete the destruction of the whole body. He was, however, disappointed, by the firmness and resolution of the British sepoys, who stood their ground with a constancy worthy of the bravest veterans. The Indian commander, therefore, determined to accomplish his end by the number and courage of his cavalry, with whom he made many attempts to break into the square. But, though they advanced to the charge with the utmost impetuosity, they were constantly received with showers of grape and musket-shot, which made such havoc as soon compelled them to fly even before they had come close to the attack; at the same time that the British cavalry, sallying from the centre of the square, pursued them with great slaughter to a considerable distance, and then returned to their former station.

The hopes of Tippoo Saib seemed thus to be in danger of total disappointment, when M. Lally, on the third day, proposed a new and more effectual method of attack. For this purpose he himself marched at the head of his 400 Europeans, with fixed bayonets, to the attack of that side of the square which was most exposed, or seemed weakest; being accompanied and supported by several battalions of the enemy's best infantry, and flanked by their cavalry. As he advanced to the attack of one side of the square, the whole fire of the remaining part of the army was poured in upon the other faces, which were at the same time harassed and threatened by great bodies of cavalry, ready to rush in upon them at the instant they ventured upon any change of situation, so that it was impossible to give the least assistance to that front which stood so much in need of

it. The poor sepoys, unable to stand such a furious attack from a body of Europeans coming fresh into action, were soon broken, and a dreadful carnage begun by the cavalry, who rushed in immediately after. M. Lally, however, with a humanity, which cannot but redound to his honour much more than the greater warlike exploits, issued immediate orders for putting a stop to this butchery. These were instantly obeyed by the infantry; but the fury of the cavalry was not so easily restrained. Before this could be accomplished, M. Lally was obliged to hasten in person to the place where this dreadful scene was going on, and is said to have, with his own hand, killed five of the most active among the perpetrators. That he might complete the generous part he had thus undertaken, he also prevailed upon Tippoo Saib to commit to his charge the prisoners taken in the action, whom he treated with the utmost care and tenderness; though he could not prevent them from undergoing a long and cruel imprisonment in Seringapatam, Hyder Ally's capital, in the Myfore kingdom.

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Humanity  
of Lally.

In this unfortunate action on the Coleroon, a great number of gallant officers perished; and, of the whole number who were present, only one escaped without a wound. The consequences of it were extremely fatal; all the countries to the southward being laid entirely open to the designs of the enemy, while Hyder Ally, with his grand army, closely watched the motions, and was powerfully prepared to obstruct the designs of the English General on the northern side, who was miserably cramped in all his operations.

During this unfortunate situation of affairs, a body of French forces with artillery from the islands, under the immediate conduct of M. Duchemin, (being the first division of a great force, under M. de Buffs, designed for the total subversion of the British power in India), was disembarked by M. de Suffrein at Pondicherry. These, in conjunction with a body of Hyder Ally's forces, marched, in full confidence and security, to besiege the important fortrefs of Cuddalore, a place of considerable strength and great importance; but no attack on it having been expected, it was not in any condition to stand a siege; and was therefore surrendered, on capitulation, by Captain Hughes, the commandant, on the 8th of April.

French  
and Indi-  
ans take  
Cuddalore,  
April 8.

The combined army then, proceeding to the northward, besieged and took Permacoil; after which, in concert with Hyder, they took measures for laying

Also Per-  
macoil.

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siege to Vandiwash.—This place, however, was of such very great importance, that Sir Eyre Coote determined to use every effort in his power to preserve it. He advanced, therefore, towards it with his army, in full expectation that Hyder, now strengthened by such a powerful reinforcement of Europeans, would not hesitate at venturing on a general action. But that wary Indian prince had altered his mode of proceeding, and, mindful of what he had suffered in former engagements, not only made no attack on the British forces, but allowed himself to be pursued by them for a considerable way, taking care to fall back in such proper time that his retreat would not be disturbed; and, directing his course to the Red Hills, he posted himself at last in such an advantageous manner, that it was impossible to attack him with any prospect of success.

It now became the object of the British general to draw his antagonist from the stronghold he occupied, and thereby force him to an action. For this purpose he moved towards Arnee, where Hyder's principal magazines were kept, and encamped within five miles of the place. This had the desired effect. Hyder came down from the hills he occupied, and approached the British army. This movement, however, did not deter Sir Eyre Coote from marching on, as he knew it would be the most effectual method of bringing on a general action: but scarcely had his van reached the place, and were marking out a camp in sight of it, when the arrival of Hyder was announced by a distant cannonade, though he was judged at the time to have been much farther off. This surprise, however, produced no kind of disorder, though the situation of the British army afforded many advantages to the enemy; for they were in a low situation, surrounded by commanding grounds, which Hyder's forces instantly took care to occupy, so that all their manœuvres were performed under the greatest disadvantages; and they were exposed to a heavy, though distant cannonade during the whole time they were forming. The action became general about noon of June 2, and this no sooner took place, than the numbers of Hyder's army were found utterly incapable of withstanding the valour and impetuosity of the British troops; so that they instantly gave way in every quarter, and a total rout ensued. The enemy were pursued till the evening; and next day the British general having obtained intelligence that Hyder was again encamped on such strong ground as would probably encourage him to

Hyder Al-ly again defeated, June 2.

stand another engagement, made a second offer of battle; but in this he was disappointed, the Indian prince retreating with precipitation on every approach of the British troops. Still, however, he continued formidable, and, in less than a week after the battle, having found means to draw the grand guard of the British army into an ambuscade, cut them all in pieces before any assistance could be sent them from the army. By this time also the troops and cattle having suffered very severely from the heat of the season, as well as the fatigues of military duty, and a scarcity of provision beginning to take place, the general thought proper to retreat to a place where the army could be better supplied with necessaries.

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This was the last action of consequence in which Sir Eyre Coote and Hyder Ally opposed each other in the field; nor indeed did either of them long survive this engagement; the health and constitutions of both being probably ruined by the excess of fatigue they had undergone. Such was Sir Eyre Coote's indisposition, that he was obliged in a short time to resign the command of the army to Major-General Stuart, Sir Hector Monro having returned to Europe. The country was now so entirely ruined, that it afforded little advantage to either party, besides that of giving them an ample field for displaying their various manœuvres in war, both of them being obliged to draw their necessary supplies from a distant quarter. The Indian commander still continued to avoid an engagement, and circumstances on the part of General Stuart made it impossible for him to force him to it; at the same time that the great strength of the French at Cuddalore rendered the recovery of that place hopeless. The campaign was therefore spent, on the part of the British general, in marching and countermarching, in order to disappoint the designs of the enemy, and to supply and relieve the garrisons of different places.

Sir Eyre  
Coote is  
succeeded  
by General  
Stuart.

On the ocean, however, the case was exceedingly different. M. Suffrein having returned from Batacolo<sup>ons</sup> to the coast of Coromandel early in the month of June, <sup>sea.</sup> and touched at the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, where his fleet was re-victualled by several Dutch ships from Batavia, proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which was now the principal place in the country for military stores, both for land and sea service. As he still preserved a superiority of twelve ships of the line to eleven, besides heavy frigates, he began once more to entertain hopes of crushing the English squadron

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entirely before the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, who was impatiently expected at Madras, and who had long sailed from England with several ships of war. For this purpose he took on board his squadron 400 French, and as many sepoys, at Cuddalore; and soon after, having received intelligence of the arrival of Sir Edward Hughes on the coast, he strengthened his squadron with 300 artillery men, under the pretence of a design on Negapatam. Here he was met by his antagonist Sir Edward; and as the French fleet now consisted of 8 sail, M. Suffrein boldly challenged the enemy to come to action.

Suffrein  
worsted  
by Sir  
Edward  
Hughes,  
July 6.

The British commander, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under, both with respect to inferiority in number, and the condition of his vessels, did not in the least hesitate at accepting the challenge. The French fleet came in sight a little after mid-day, and by three in the afternoon Sir Edward put out to sea, and spent that afternoon and succeeding night in taking proper measures to gain the wind on the enemy. This being happily accomplished, a close and obstinate engagement began about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of July 6, 1782. In an hour and an half the French fleet began to fall into disorder, and several of the ships appeared to have suffered extremely, so that their ruin seemed almost inevitable, when a sudden shift of the wind affected some of the British ships, which had also suffered considerably, in such a manner that they could not keep their places. Thus the line of battle being broken, the British were not only prevented from pursuing their advantages, but the enemy had time to recollect themselves, and even to threaten the destruction of some of their ships that were most disabled. Sir Edward, therefore, cast anchor at the approach of the evening, between Negapatam and Nagore, and used every method in his power to refit his ships during the night, with a view to renew the engagement next morning, but found it impracticable; so that he was obliged to submit to the unspeakable mortification of seeing the French squadron proceed to Cuddalore, without having it in his power to pursue or give them the least disturbance.

The loss of the French in this engagement was much greater than that of the British. In the disorder occasioned by the shift of wind above mentioned, the *Severe*, one of the French admiral's seconds, had suffered so much that she became quite ungovernable, and fell along side of the *Sultan*, Captain Watt, to whom she



struck. But while the latter was preparing to join the admiral, according to a signal given, the *Severe*, taking advantage of the situation of the ship, suddenly hoisted all the sail she could, and, without shewing any colours, made her escape, pouring her fire into the *Sultan*, and raking her as she passed. As this proceeding was entirely contrary to the established laws of war and of nations, the British admiral dispatched Captain Watt, next day, with a letter to M. Suffrein, complaining of the conduct of the French captain and demanding restoration of the ship, but without success; he having alledged, that the colours were not intentionally struck, but had been shot away.—The result of an inquiry, however, concerning the matter, afterwards instituted at Paris, totally overthrows M. Suffrein's defence, and substitutes one which does not seem much better. By that it is acknowledged, that the colours were really and intentionally struck, but that this was owing to the cowardice of the captain; and that an auxiliary officer, dissatisfied with his conduct, had the address to persuade him, first, that he was dangerously wounded, and then, that it was absolutely necessary for him to go below deck; by which means he obtained the command of the ship, and proceeded as we have already related.

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The loss of men on the English side amounted to 77 killed, and 233 wounded; on the side of the French their acknowledged loss was much more considerable, the slain amounting to 178, and the wounded to 601; the comparative state being 779 to 310, or above five to two. Among other brave officers, as well of the 98th regiment, as of the naval department, who fell in this action, the gallant Captain Maclellan, of the *Superbe*, was shot through the heart in its very commencement. It was remarkable, if not singular, and fully shews the warm service they were engaged in, that the admiral's two immediate captains should have been killed within so short a time of each other.

The British admiral kept the sea for near a fortnight longer, while the French were assiduously employed in refitting their ships at Cuddalore; however, the necessity of providing some of the ships with topmasts, and other important articles which had been lost in the late action, as well as supplying the whole fleet with ammunition and provisions, became at last so urgent, that he thought proper to sail for Madras, where he arrived on the 20th of July. Here he was joined by the *Sceptre* of 64 guns, which had left England along with Sir Richard Bickerton, but, being separated from

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the other ships, had arrived in the east before him. This ship was dispatched, along with the Monmouth, with supplies of men and provisions for the garrison of Trincomale; but in the mean time M. de Suffrein having received intelligence of the arrival of the second division of M. de Bussy's troops with two ships of the line, the St. Michael of 64 and the Illustre of 74 guns, at the Point de Galles, on the south side of the island of Ceylon, set sail for that place on the first of August.

August 1.

Trincomale re-  
taken by  
the  
French.

Sir Edward Hughes, in the mean time having received intelligence of this movement of the enemy, and being exceedingly anxious for the fate of Trincomale, sailed from Madras, in order to relieve it, on the 20th of the same month. The contrariety of the wind, however, occasioned such a delay, that the French had full opportunity of putting in execution their designs on that place. M. de Suffrein, having effected a junction with the ships and convoy, at the Point de Galles, proceeded directly to the attack of Trincomale, where he arrived towards the end of the month. The troops were landed, under the conduct of the Baron de Agoult, on the 26th of August; and in three days some batteries were opened, which entirely silenced those of the besieged. Next day the place was summoned to surrender; and as it was plainly impossible to make any effectual resistance, the commanding officer, Captain Macdowal, consented to deliver up the fort. The capitulation was very honourable; M. Suffrein, apprehensive of the arrival of Sir Edward Hughes, making no objection to whatever was demanded.

Trincomale was scarcely in the enemy's possession, when the wind, which had so long withstood Sir Edward Hughes, suddenly became favourable, and he made his appearance on the 2d of September. An engagement was now of no consequence, as he could not hope to regain the forts, let his success be what it would; but such was the general indignation at the loss of the place, that notwithstanding the great superiority of the French fleet, and that it did not appear capable of answering any great purpose, it was instantly resolved to fight them. M. de Suffrein, conscious of his own superiority, sailed out to meet his antagonist, and had the good fortune to gain the wind, then blowing strong off the shore. Sir Edward Hughes, in order to render the action as decisive as possible, stood before the wind till near eleven o'clock, that the enemy might thus be drawn away from the

shore as far as possible. The engagement began about half an hour after two on the 3d of September. The French, in order to derive the greater advantage from their superiority in number, attacked, with the additional ships, the extremities of the English line, which were already engaged in close action. Thus the Worcester, the last ship of the rear, was most furiously engaged by two of the enemy; but the Monmouth so gallantly assisted her, that they totally failed of accomplishing their purpose. At the same time, five of the enemy's ships came down in a cluster, and with the utmost fury attacked the Exeter and Isis, the headmost of the English van; and in a short time the Exeter, being obliged to retire, left the Isis to support alone the attack of the whole five; which, however, she sustained till assistance was sent her from the rest of the fleet.

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Another  
sea fight,  
Sept. 3.

In the centre the fight was carried on more equally; the two admirals ships, the Superbe and Heros, being closely engaged, and all the others in like manner ship to ship. At half an hour after three the French Admiral's second a-stern had his mizen-mast shot away, and his second a-head lost his fore and mizen topmasts. The battle, however, continued with the utmost violence till half an hour after five, when a shift of the wind produced a cessation for a short time. But it was soon renewed again with as great fury as ever. At twenty minutes past six the French Admiral's main-mast was shot away close by the board; soon after, her mizen-mast shared the same fate; and, on the English side, the Worcester, in a little time, lost her main-topmast. Before half an hour after seven the action entirely ceased, by the retreat of the French Squadron, who thought proper to haul their wind to the southward, under a most severe fire from the rear of the English. The latter were in no condition to pursue; nor would the darkness of the night, and the nearness of Trincomale, have admitted of any pursuit.

The loss of men on the side of the English, was, in point of number, so small, as to be almost below credibility, amounting to only 51 slain, and 283 wounded. Among those who gloriously dedicated their lives on that day to the service of their country, were the three brave and distinguished captains, Wood, of the Worcester, Watt, of the Sultan, and Lumley, of the Isis. The last, on account of his youth and noble family, as well as of his being an officer of the greatest

CHAP. hope and gallantry, was deeply and peculiarly regretted. Too much could not be said in praise of Colonel Fullarton, and of the other officers, as well as of the private men of the 78th and 98th regiments, who had, at their own desire, and at the liberal expence of their blood, continued, during so many months, to encounter all the hardships and inconveniencies of so exceedingly severe and trying a service, and which were in so many respects contrary to their professional habits and duties.

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It was highly to the honour of the British commanders, that through the whole course of this severe naval contest, and through so many days of hard bloody, and doubtful trial, constantly fighting too against a superiority of force, the breath of slander had not been able to leave the smallest soil on the character, or to censure the behaviour of any one of them; but that, in every action, each was acknowledged to have done every thing in the power of a brave and experienced officer; whilst, on the other side, the French admiral was continually breaking or suspending his officers, and actually sent several of them home prisoners to France for trial.

The French returned to Trincomale on the very night of the action, and seem to have been so much hurried on that occasion, that the *l'Orient*, of 74 guns, one of their best ships, was lost in the dark, in the act of getting in. M. de Suffrein gives no account, as was customary with him, of the number of his killed and wounded; but, by an accurate state, brought home by the Fox packet from India, the loss of the French in that action appears to have been no less than 412 killed, and 676 wounded; of which 140 of the former, and 240 of the latter, were on board Suffrein's own ship.

This naval action, one of the most obstinate perhaps recorded in history, concluded the campaign of 1782. Matters now seemed likely to take a more favourable turn on the Continent, by the happy conclusion of a peace with the Mahrattas. This fortunate event was brought about principally through the mediation of Madajec Scindia; and indeed the Mahrattas, notwithstanding the extreme provocation they had received, behaved in this, as well as in every other respect, with the greatest moderation; appearing at all times ready to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation, whether in the moment of victory or defeat. Mr David Anderson, who had been invested with full powers

Treaty of  
peace with  
the Mah-  
rattas. See  
Appendix  
Nov. 8.

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for the purpose by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, had the good fortune to put a finishing hand to this treaty, and seems to have displayed great abilities throughout the whole transaction. It takes its name from Salbey, a village where Madajee Scindia had his head-quarters, and where it was signed on the 17th of May. By this, besides other articles very favourable to the English, the Mahrattas engaged, that within six months after the ratification, Hyder Ally should be obliged to relinquish all the places he had taken during the war; that all prisoners on both sides should be released; and the English on their part agreed, that, on the performance of these conditions, and as long afterwards as Hyder should abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and as long as he should continue in peace with the Paishwa, they would in no respect act in a hostile manner against him. The most important concession, however, on the part of the Mahrattas, was, that no other European nation should be allowed to establish manufactories among them; nor were they to hold a friendly intercourse with any other European nation besides the Portuguese, who were expressly excepted from this article. On the other hand, the English bound themselves not to afford assistance to any nation of the Decan or Hindostan at enmity with the Paishwa; nor were either of the parties to give assistance to the allies of their adversary. With regard to Roganaut Row, who had been the occasion of so much mischief, he was to be allowed four months to determine the place of his future residence; after which the English were bound neither to afford him support, protection, assistance, or money for his expences; but if he would, of his own accord, repair to Madajee Scindia, and quietly reside with him, he was to be secured from all injury, and the Paishwa bound himself to allow him a pension of 25,000 rupees, about 36,000l. Sterling a year, for his support; all territories, or grants of territories, given by him to the English, being for ever relinquished. By a private article, the city of Baroach, with its valuable territories, producing a clear revenue of about 200,000l. a-year, was ceded to Madajee Scindia and his family for ever. But, though this treaty was signed on the 17th of May 1782, as has been already related, it met with such opposition at the court of Poonah, that the ratification did not take place till a considerable time afterwards, owing, as was supposed, to the jealousy of Nana Furnavese, the

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1782.

Dreadful  
hurricane  
and famine  
at Madras.

Oct. 15.

Paishwa's nominal prime minister, but in fact the regent, of the great friendship subsisting betwixt the English and Madajee Scindia, and the vast increase of power given him by the addition of the city and territory of Baroach.

We must now return to Sir Edward Hughes, whom we left off Trincomale, after his severe engagement with M. de Suffrein, on the 3d of September.—As there was no harbour on the western coast of the island of Ceylon in which he could safely put his ships at that season of the year, and many of them made much water through the shot-holes, which could not be come at in the open sea, he thought proper to return to Madras, as well to refit his vessels, as to avoid the dangers of the monsoon season, which was then approaching. But, before he could fully accomplish the purposes of his stay at that place, the fleet was exposed to the greatest danger, by a most violent hurricane, exceeding any thing that had been known in these parts for a long time. It commenced on the 15th of October; but fortunately for the ships of war, they were anchored in a deep water of fifteen fathoms; and it was still more fortunate that the tempest blew from the shore, otherwise fatal consequences would have ensued. Having soon parted their cables, they put out to sea, and many of their boats were lost in attempting to regain their ships; though all the long-boats braved the fury of the tempest, and without a single exception succeeded in joining their respective ships. A vast number of trading vessels, however, were lost; and the shore round Madras, for many miles, presented a miserable spectacle of wrecks of ships, and the bodies of the dead and dying. The Earl of Hertford Indianman, with several other English vessels, were sunk or dashed in pieces, and about 100 coasting vessels of the country shared the same fate. Those which had time to cut their cables generally escaped; and, by some unaccountable means, some few were enabled to ride out the storm.

The consequences of this hurricane were not confined to the desolation it occasioned at the time. By reason of the unhappy state of the country for some time past, the cultivation of rice had been impeded, so that it had become necessary to import great quantities of that article from other parts; and, even with all the assistance that could be had in this way, the article was not only dear, but scarce. This scarcity had been considerably augmented by the captures made

by the French, insomuch that the garrison of Madras was reduced to short allowance in the article of rice ; but the hurricane, by destroying a number of provision vessels at that time in the road, before they had time to unload their cargoes, soon changed the scarcity into an absolute famine. The poor Indians were now reduced to the most miserable situation. Their absurd abstinence from animal food deprived them of the resources which the Europeans enjoyed, and exposed them to all the agonies of hunger. The roads, outlets, and even the streets were strewed with the dead and dying ; and it was computed that at least 200 of them perished every day, suffering with the most philosophic fortitude the torments of a painful death, rather than make the life of another creature subservient to the preservation of their own. Every method indeed was used to alleviate the distresses of the people as soon as the news arrived at Bengal ; but, before any thing effectual could be accomplished, it was computed that 10,000 had died through mere want of sustenance.

Sir Edward Hughes, after being driven out of Madras road by the hurricane, met with such a continued course of bad weather, that for near a month scarce any two of his ships were able to speak together. The *Superbe* was dismasted, and he was obliged to shift his flag from on board her to the *Sultan*. He was now bound for Bombay ; but, as he knew that only four ships of the line could be laid down at once in the docks there, he left the *Hero*, *Monmouth*, and *Sceptre* to be refitted at Goa, once the capital of the Portuguese dominions, and the celebrated emporium of the east. The others did not reach Bombay till near the end of December ; and, in the interval, Sir Richard Bickerton, with five ships of the line and his convoy, had arrived at Madras from Bombay, without having heard either of the fleet, or of the hurricane which had done so much mischief. He had brought with him under convoy three regiments of infantry of 1000 men each, besides Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to about 340, with 1000 recruits which had been raised for the Company's service in Ireland ; and notwithstanding the length of the voyage, both seamen and soldiers were extraordinarily healthy. Sir Richard immediately returned to Bombay to join the admiral.

By the conclusion of the peace with the Mahrattas an opportunity was now afforded of carrying on the war against Hyder Ally to more advantage, and a

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Sir Richard Bickerton arrives at Madras,

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1782.  
Expedition and  
success of  
Colonel  
Humberstone.

Oct. 19.

powerful diversion upon the Malabar coast was resolved on, in order to compel him to abandon the Carnatic, and to return to the defence of his own dominions. Towards the end of summer, therefore, Colonel Humberstone had been dispatched, by the Presidency of Bombay, with a considerable body of troops, in order to make inroads into the country. In this he was at first attended with great success. The ancient capital of Calicut, between thirty and forty miles south of Tellicherry, the city of Panian, or Paniany, about the same distance beyond Calicut, with all the intermediate places, fell into his hands, which encouraged him, in the beginning of September, to quit the sea-coast, and make an attempt to penetrate farther into the country. New difficulties, however, now started up. The country abounded with a number of forts, which defended the narrow passes of the mountains surrounding it, and threatened insurmountable obstacles to any invader. Several weeks therefore elapsed, before he could make any considerable progress; but in that time he had reduced a great many small forts, and at last took one named *Mungarry Cottah*, which lay in such a strong situation as seemed to promise a secure retreat in case of any misfortune. This encouraged him to advance to a town named *Palacatcherry*, which appears to have been of more consequence than any he had hitherto met with. Here he arrived on the 19th of October, but found the enemy so strong that he was obliged to make an hasty retreat to Mungarry Cottah; and though it was only about eight miles distant, he was so closely pursued, that, in that short way, he lost a very considerable number of his men, among whom was Major Hutchinson of the 98th regiment, together with his baggage and provisions. As his situation was now justly looked upon to be very dangerous, the government of Bombay, having received a supply of fifteen lacs from Bengal, for the purpose of carrying on the war, dispatched General Matthews with the utmost expedition to his assistance, with such forces as were at hand; a considerable part of those which had been employed in the Mahratta war not being yet returned from the northward.

In the mean time, however, Tippoo Saib, who seems now to have had the sole management of the war, being exceedingly provoked at the invasion of his country, determined to take such ample vengeance as should for ever deter any future invader from attempting such an enterprise. Having therefore, with the



utmost secrecy, collected a considerable body of forces, CHAP.  
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1782. he marched with all possible speed to cut off Colonel Humberstone's party at Mungarry Cottah. By good fortune, however, the British Commander received intelligence of the arrival of the enemy on the northern banks of the Coleroon; on which, guessing Tippoo's design, he destroyed the fortifications of Mungarry Cottah, and retreated to Ramgaree, the works of which having also destroyed on hearing that the enemy were advancing with the utmost rapidity, he retreated further to Paniany, which he reached on the 20th of November. Here he met with Colonel Macleod, who had just arrived from Madras, and on whom the command of the forces devolved in course. This gentleman had scarce accepted of his new dignity, when he found himself invested by Tippoo Saib and Mons. Lally, with an army of 8000 infantry, including some hundreds of French and other Europeans, 10,000 cavalry, and 6000 poligars. The British troops, however, being strongly posted, and having used every endeavour to improve the natural advantages of their situation, and being likewise assisted by the Juno frigate, and Pondicherry armed ship, were so far from being alarmed at the danger which threatened them, that they made an attempt to surprise the enemy in their camp. But the vigilance of Tippoo rendered this enterprise abortive; and the insult was, in a few days, returned by a vigorous and regular attack upon the British lines, led by Lally at the head of his Europeans. In this encounter, the usual superiority of the British troops manifested itself. The enemy were repulsed with the greatest gallantry. About 200 of their dead, whom they could not carry off, were buried by the English; and a French officer, who led up one of the columns to the attack, was taken prisoner. Colonel Macleod had great merit in this action; and his conduct fully justified all the praise that was bestowed on it. After this severe check, Tippoo retired beyond the river Paniany, where he continued some days in a state of inaction; but, in the night between the 11th and 12th of December, he broke up his camp suddenly and retreated with the utmost precipitation, first to Palacatcherry, and then directly back to the Carnatic.

This extreme precipitation was occasioned, in all probability, by Tippoo having received unfavourable accounts of his father Hyder Ally's state of health, who had long been afflicted with a painful and incurable disorder. His absence exposed the most valuable parts of

CHAP. his dominions to the ravages of the enemy ; for now  
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1783. General Matthews, changing his design of proceeding  
Expedition of General Matthews. much lower down the coast, undertook an expedition with the fleet and forces to the river Mirjee, which falls into the ocean about eighty miles below Goa, fifteen to the northward of Onore. Having taken a fort at the mouth of the river, he proceeded directly to besiege that city, which lies about mid-way betwixt Panian and Bombay, being 300 miles distant from both.—Most of the transports had already been dispatched with a convoy to the southward, with orders to bring up all the troops that could be spared ; in consequence of which, Colonel Macleod embarked as many as the ships could receive ; but before their arrival, the city of Onore was taken by storm on the 5th of January 1783 ; and, it is said, that not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, without distinction, were cruelly slaughtered by the conquerors. The amount of the spoil was never certainly known, though it was in all probability very great. Some circumstances, however, with regard to its division, laid the foundation of a quarrel betwixt the General and the army, which was never afterwards made up, and, no doubt, contributed partly to the disasters that followed.

He takes  
Onore by  
storm,  
Jan. 5,  
1783.

Death  
and character of  
Hyder  
Ally.

The death of Hyder Ally, who was succeeded by his son Tippoo Saib, happened about this time ; probably towards the close of the year 1782. We are left in the dark as to time, place, and all the other circumstances of that event : for as Tippoo Saib's situation afforded the strongest motives for keeping it secret as long as possible ; so, when it could no longer be concealed, it was past over as a thing already known, without the parade of a detail which would have then been out of time.

Hyder Ally was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes, as well as the greatest warrior, that India ever produced. His mind was so vast and comprehensive, as at once to reach to and embrace all the parts of war and of government. The formation of such a native military force as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing ; the conquest of great countries, and the acquisition of others without the sword ; the raising of these to a degree of power, estimation, and real value, which they never before possessed, afforded but a moderate display of Hyder's talents and abilities. Besides the establishment of a mighty empire, and the reducing of the Europeans to their original state of merchants and factors, living, as such, entirely under

the protection and government of the state, his vast designs reached not only to becoming the greatest commercial power of Asia, but to what the east had never beheld, the creation of an invincible navy, which should for ever secure the coasts of India from the invasions or insults of foreigners.

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Nor was he more redoubtable as a warrior than as a statesman; and if his actions, and the chain and motives of his conduct, had not been too remote from observation to be thoroughly known and comprehended, he might possibly have been considered as one of the first politicians of his day, whether in Europe or in Asia. He was so far from being naturally cruel, that he differed in that respect from all the eastern conquerors of whom we have any knowledge; but as he detested all private treachery, and was a strict observer himself of the laws of war, and of the public faith, so his punishments in the one instance, and his retaliations in the other, were so extremely severe, as to carry upon some occasions the appearance of cruelty; especially with those who were not informed of the causes, or who were not disposed to consider the motives. Hyder despised and dispensed with, so far as it could with propriety be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; displaying, in his own person, the frank manners of a camp, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an eastern despot. He had been, greatly through their own fault, and partly through their interference with his designs, a bitter, and very nearly a fatal enemy to the English East India Company; but it would be disgraceful and mean, on that account, to suppress his virtues, or endeavour to conceal his great qualities.

The news of the death of Hyder Ally gave such spirits to the Council of Bombay, that orders were instantly sent to General Matthews, requiring him, in case the news should be confirmed, to use every possible exertion to penetrate the Gauts, or passes of the mountains, into the Bednore or Canara country, and particularly to gain possession of the capital, which, along with a strong fort on a hill adjoining to the city, was not only the grand magazine of Tippoo's arms, artillery, and military stores, but the place where his treasures were kept. In obedience to these commands, General Matthews proceeded farther down the coast, and, with little loss or difficulty, took the city of Cundapore; but, far from being encouraged by this success to go on with the

also Cundapore;

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and An-  
nanpore,  
where  
great  
cruelties  
are com-  
mitted.

enterprise, he took the first opportunity of representing to the Council that the design was impracticable, and his army utterly insufficient for the purpose.—This pusillanimity, as it was thought, excited much dissatisfaction in the Council, who had founded great part of their hopes on the rebellious disposition of the Indians, and the disorders which would probably take place on the death of Hyder Ally. They did not, however, think proper to oblige him to act contrary to his own judgment, but allowed him, though with great reluctance, a discretionary power with respect to the deferring or going on with the expedition; but, at the same time, strongly recommended to him, that he would, in balancing the difficulties against the advantages, give due weight, in the latter scale, to the good consequences which might naturally or probably be expected to arise from Hyder Ally's death.

General Matthews, however, appeared to have taken his resolution without any regard to the advice or commands of his superiors, and the whole of his conduct was a course of rapine, cruelty, and most disgraceful avarice, which at length involved him, and all concerned in the most terrible destruction.—The fortrefs of Annampore, which was taken by storm, affords a new instance of the barbarity of the soldiers employed in this unhappy expedition. The account of the dreadful scene acted on this occasion (written by an officer) must certainly fill the mind of every humane person with horror. Here only one horseman, desperately wounded, is said to have had the good fortune to escape the general slaughter; and 400 beautiful women are described lying bleeding with the wounds of the bayonet, and either already dead, or expiring in each others arms; while the common soldiers, casting off all obedience to their officers, were stripping them of their jewels, and committing every outrage on their bodies. It is added, that others of the women threw themselves into large tanks, and were drowned. The troops however, he observes, were severely reprimanded for their barbarity.

The passing of the mountains was a matter of such extreme difficulty, that no commander, who had been previously acquainted with it, would have made the attempt; nor could any other enemy than those poltroons who defended the pass been compelled to yield it up. The passage they had to defend was only eight feet wide, three miles long, and strongly fortified.

The whole force employed in such a desperate attempt as the forcing of this pass consisted only of the Bombay light company of Europeans, and between three and four hundred sepoy. Success, however, justified the rashness of the undertaking. The first barrier was taken without much difficulty; but the second presented such a formidable appearance, that a retreat would have been thought of, had it not now been no less dangerous than an attack.—The Indians, utterly unable to withstand the British troops, soon betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them 500 of their killed and wounded.—Flushed with this success, their antagonists made their way through the pass with the bayonet, until they had gained the summit of the mountain, when the whole rich and hitherto unspoiled kingdom of Canara, with its capital, containing Hyder Ally's favourite palace and treasures, lay exposed to their incursions.

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This city, called, by the English, *Bednore*, but which had lately changed its name to that of *Hyder Nagur*, or the royal city of Hyder, though that name was not at the time admitted by the English, and which they hoped entirely to annihilate, was one of the largest and finest in India, some of its streets running in a right line no less than two leagues in length; though its population was not in proportion to its extent, on account of the extensive gardens and spacious palaces of the nobility, which occupied the greater part of the ground; and many of which inclosed vast basons or reservoirs of water, one of the favourite and most pleasing luxuries of the East.—Here the Christian religion had been introduced by the Portuguese, and still continued to flourish so much, that the greater part of its inhabitants, estimated at 30,000, were of that profession.

The city and adjacent country were under the government of Hyat Saib, who, being sensible of his total inability to ward off the danger by force, used every method that policy could suggest to induce his enemy to be as favourable as possible, until Tippoo should have time to arrive with his army. As soon, therefore, as the English troops had passed the mountains, he dispatched agents to the camp, who entered into a private negotiation with General Matthews, concluding a treaty, by which the capital, country, and fortress at Bednore, were to be delivered up to the English, together with all the treasures and public property; upon condition, that the persons of the in-

He like-  
Bednore,

C H A P. habitants, and all private property, should be safe ;  
 XXXII. and that Hyat Saib should remain in full possession of  
 1783. the government under the English, holding much the  
 same powers as he had before done under Hyder.

On this, the army were put in possession of the capital ; but, in a short time, General Matthews is said to have broken through the treaty, by closely imprisoning Hyat Saib, which created great disturbances, and was attended with many bad consequences. The great cause of discontent, however, was the manner of disposing of the treasures. Upwards of fourteen lacks were at first publicly shewn, and declared by the General to be the property of the army, besides a vast treasure in jewels, &c. which was not exposed ; but, in a few days, when the quarrel between Hyat Saib and the General was made up, it was heard, with astonishment, that the former had claimed all that money as his private property, and that it had been actually restored to him as such by the General.

Such extraordinary conduct could not but excite the most general dissatisfaction ; nor was it in the least allayed by a present of about 20,000 l. value made to the army by Hyat Saib, at the desire of General Matthews. Some unhappy disputes also having taken place with the principal officers of the king's troops about points of rank and precedence, Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, together with Major Shaw, all gentlemen of distinguished honour and character, thought themselves so much aggrieved, that they retired from the camp a few days after the taking of Bednore, and set out for Bombay, where they arrived about the end of February.

All this time, General Matthews did not think proper to send the smallest intelligence of his proceedings to Bombay ; so that the Council were obliged to have recourse to the three officers just mentioned for an account of what had happened. At last in the beginning of March, about a week after their arrival, some dispatches were received from the General ; but, instead of giving any particular intelligence concerning the state of affairs, or even a general account of his operations, they contained only severe charges of rapacity, disaffection, and mutiny on the whole army in general, accusing them indiscriminately, officers as well as soldiers, with acts of the highest criminality ; nor did he take the smallest notice of the amount of the treasure found at Bednore, which was the ground of the dissatisfaction or dispute, or whether any treasure

whatever was found there. This conduct was so far from being satisfactory to the government, that towards the end of the month, resolutions were passed, by which the General was deprived of his command, and Colonel Macleod, the first officer in rank upon the coast, appointed to succeed him; Colonel Humberstone and Major Shaw being required to rejoin the army along with him.

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In the mean time, matters seemed to go on very successfully in the Bednore country. Hyat Saib had managed his affairs with so much address, that, instead of suffering any kind of hostility to appear in that country, he is even said to have made an offer of raising a considerable body of forces to join and support the English army; and the General was even blamed for refusing the offer of such dangerous allies. The operations on the sea-coast were also fortunate in the highest degree. On the upper part towards Goa, Captain Carpenter had invaded the Soundah or Sundah country, (which had been recovered by Hyder Ally as an appendage to his new kingdom of Canara), where he reduced Carwar, and many other principal forts. But the greatest acquisition was that of the fortress and port of Mangalore, which contained the rudiments of Hyder Ally's maritime power, and where three ships of from 50 to 60 guns each were at that time nearly finished, besides several others of inferior size. The place was taken on the 9th of March, so that the English were now in possession of all the strong holds on the Malabar coast.

and Man-  
galore,  
March 9.

A dreadful vengeance, however, was soon to overtake this devoted army, who had sullied their conquests with many abominable cruelties. Tippoo Saib, who had now assumed the title of Sultan, alarmed and exasperated to the last degree at the loss of his capital and favourite dominions, determined to sacrifice every other object to their recovery. About the middle of March, his troops began to evacuate the Carnatic, and, in the beginning of April, appeared in sight of the English forces with a prodigious army. General Matthews, in the mean time, acted as if he had been under some kind of infatuation. Though, in his letters to the Government of Bombay, he was pressing for a reinforcement, he seemed to go on with as much confidence as if he had been at the head of an army capable of opposing Tippoo Sultan in the field. The conduct he ought to have pursued in occupying the strong passes of the mountains, where

Bad con-  
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Matthews

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only his army could withstand the multitudes of the enemy, was indeed so obvious, that it is surprising how it could escape the observation of any person, whether acquainted with military affairs or not. Instead of this, however, he suffered them to approach him at Bednore, where he must either be shut up in the fortrefs, and stand a siege without any prospect of relief, or fight his enemy in the field.

The army of Tippoo Sultan was so numerous that it not only covered the plains near the city, but the hills also, to a greater distance than the eye could reach, being computed, according to the lowest estimation, at more than 100,000 men. The British forces, on the other hand, consisted only of detachments from the 98th, 100th, and 102d Royal Regiments, together with some Bombay infantry, amounting in all to about 600 men, along with about 1600 excellent seapoys. With this inconsiderable handful, General Matthews marched out of Bednore, to encounter, in the open fields, the innumerable forces of the enemy, who were led on by a French detachment. The event was such as the madness of the attempt seemed to deserve. Five hundred of his men fell in a few minutes; on which he retreated to the fortrefs with the remainder, abandoning the city altogether. This proved but a very slender resource. The Sultan instantly surrounded with his army not only the fort, but the hill on which it stood; and, that no possibility of escape might remain, dispatched a party to attack the two gauts or passes, which had indeed been guarded, though by no means in a manner equal to their importance.

The passes being abandoned in a shameful manner by the officers who had the charge of them, all communication with the sea-coast, and consequently all hope of assistance, was lost. One misfortune quickly followed another. The fugitives, who fled from the passes, having arrived at Cundapore, communicated their panic to the garrison, to such a degree, that they fled to Onore with the utmost precipitation, without even the sight of an enemy. A number of men and horses were drowned in the flight. Immense magazines of stores and provisions, which had been deposited in that place, were set on fire and consumed; and a large train of artillery was either disabled, or left for whoever should chuse to come and take possession of it.

At Onore, it required all the prudence and resolu-



tion of the commanding officer, Captain Torriano, to preserve the troops from being infected with the panic which had seized the rest. Having found means, however, not only to preserve his own garrison in their duty, but to restore some degree of spirit to the fugitives, he made a bold exertion to recover the artillery which had been so shamefully abandoned at Cundapore. Here, however, he found the enemy not only beforehand with him, but in such force that he had well nigh paid dear for his spirited attempt.

The fate of General Matthews, and his troops, was now decided. After being shut up in the fortrefs of Bednore for 17 days, being greatly reduced in numbers, and their sick and wounded exceeding 500, there was an absolute necessity for capitulating with the enemy. The terms were far from being intolerable; the garrison being allowed the honours of war; only they were to file their arms on the glacis; they were to restore all private and all public property; and they were to be conducted to a specified port, in order to be conveyed to Bombay, being properly supplied with provisions, both on the road and in the passage; and the General allowed a guard of 100 of his own sepoys, with 36 rounds of ammunition.—Whether these terms would have been observed by an enemy naturally barbarous, and so highly exasperated as the Sultan was, cannot well be determined. Unfortunately, however, the conduct of the vanquished was such as gave him an opportunity of palliating, in some degree, the cruelty of that line of conduct he now adopted. A resolution was taken to defraud the victors of all the public money in the fort, and to which they had an undoubted right. To accomplish this, the officers were desired to draw on the Pay-master-general for whatever sum they chose, to be accounted for in their pay at Bombay; on a supposition that the money, being divided among so many hands, would thus pass without observation. This opportunity of procuring ready money being eagerly embraced, not a rupee was found by the captors in the fort; which circumstance, along with the abundance of cash manifested by the profulgence of the garrison, naturally led to a suspicion of what had happened, and proved the ostensible reason of the subsequent calamity.

April 29.

On the morning of the 29th of April, the day after the evacuation of the fortrefs, General Matthews was sent for to meet Tippoo Sultan about a mile without the town. He went accordingly, along with some

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attendants; but on their arrival, after undergoing an examination, the particulars of which did not transpire, they were all put into close confinement, from whence they never returned. Two days after, the field and staff-officers, with all the captains, the pay-master and commissary, were likewise sent for and detained. Tippoo's buckshy, or pay-master, was then sent to the camp, where all the remaining officers were shamefully stripped and searched before him; and the money being found upon them, they were instantly plundered, and no measures of humanity afterwards observed with them or the troops. Every kind of indignity and disgrace was heaped upon them in the camp; after which they were compelled to march sixteen days, loaded with irons, and almost naked, under a burning sun; and driven, without mercy, like wild beasts, to a fort in the internal part of the country, where they underwent the most grievous and cruel imprisonment ever known to befall any equal number of Englishmen, even in the most inhospitable and savage regions of the earth. The sepoys, who were confined along with the European soldiers, shewed a degree of fidelity and attachment almost unparalleled. Though manifestly in danger of their lives, they withstood both the threats and allurements of the conqueror, by refusing to enter into his service. They divided with the European soldiers the miserable pittance of food which they were allowed; and after being at last permitted to join their officers, they expressed the utmost joy at having it in their power to comfort them in their distress; in testimony of which, they offered such small sums of money as were in their possession, which had either escaped the general pillage, or which they had saved by half-starving themselves.

Though it is known that the General suffered a violent death, the manner of it is not certain; some accounts stating that melted lead was poured down his throat; others, that scalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third, which seems more probable, that he was compelled to swallow the poisonous milk or juice of a shrub, by which he died in great agonies. Several of the principal officers are likewise said to have been barbarously murdered.

We are in the dark as to the amount and final disposition of the treasures found at Bednore. One private account, to which the officer's name is signed who wrote it, states, that the general got possession, exclusive of

what Hyat Saib claimed, of thirty lacks of pagodas, (amounting at least to 1,200,000 l.) besides a great quantity of diamonds and other precious stones; all which, he says, he secreted, and sent by his brother to Bombay; that his brother soon after fell into the hands of the Nabob, who beheaded him; that the army was yet uninformed whether the treasure had arrived at Bombay; and that, by calculation, it was a loss of 25,000 rupees to each subaltern officer. The sum here stated seems, however too vast to have been secreted and conveyed in such a manner.—Another officer, who says he was secretary to the General, and had free access to the rooms at the palace in which the treasure was deposited, and was even appointed to count parts of it, describes it as immense; and, besides heaps of unvalued riches, such as jewels, and massy gold and silver furniture, estimates the money at 48 lacks of pagodas. He farther says, “A great part of this money belonged to the officers, and there was a great stir about it; but the General kept it secure along time, and what came of it I know not! If we had justice done us, and the money divided out to us, it would have been about 3000 l. a subaltern.”

Immediately after the reduction of Bednore, Tippoo Sultan appeared with his vast army before Mangalore; the recovery of which was the next great object of his wishes. The place was well commanded and well garrisoned; but the defences were in no degree worthy of the defenders; so that it required all the abilities of Major Campbell, seconded by the well-tried valour of the 42d regiment, and supported by some brave battalions of sepoys, to supply the defects of the fortifications.—But notwithstanding the multitude of the enemy's troops, the handful of French auxiliaries alone gave energy to their attacks; for Hyder's numerous body of native artillery men, who had cost him so much time and pains in forming, seem, by this time, as well as the rest of his best troops, to have been entirely exhausted. By their exertions the works were so much ruined, that it seemed as if the garrison would soon be reduced to fight upon equal terms with the besiegers, when an account of the peace between England and France was received in the month of July. Tippoo Sultan was by no means pleased with the conduct of France, in concluding a peace without his concurrence, or, at least, without including him in the treaty; and the immediate refusal on the part of the French com-

Mangalore besieged by the Sultan.

C H A P. XXXII. **mander to act any longer against the English, or even to remain in the Sultan's camp, gave him the utmost dissatisfaction, as he was sensible of his own insufficiency to execute his purpose without them. He, therefore, converted the siege of this place into a blockade; and, though a peace was in agitation, had reduced the garrison to such distress for want of provisions, that they must have been obliged to surrender, had not the arrival of General Macleod, with a great force from Bombay, obliged him, much against his will, to allow them to receive a supply.**

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French refuse to co-operate with him.

The siege of Mangalore was the last military transaction of any consequence on the Malabar coast. Carwar, Onore, and some other forts indeed, as well as Mangalore, still remained in the hands of the English, until, by the peace concluded between the Company and Tippoo Sultan, in the following year, a general restitution of the conquests on both sides took place; and the tranquillity of India was, for the present, fully restored.

We are now to take notice of the proceedings on the coast of Coromandel, during these transactions on the opposite side of the Peninsula, which will close our account of these long, dangerous, and very extensive wars.

Account of the war on the Coromandel coast.

As the ill health of Sir Eyre Coote still continued, he had undertaken a voyage in the *Medea* frigate from Madras to Bengal, just before the coming on of that dreadful hurricane above mentioned, as well with a view to his own recovery, as to procure a supply of money necessary for bringing the war to an happy conclusion. Having obtained a supply of ten lacks of rupees, he set sail from Calcutta on board the *Resolution* armed ship, to all appearance in a much better state of health than before. Unluckily, however, he was so closely pursued by two French ships of the line during the greater part of two days and two nights, that all hope of escape seemed to be vain. The anxiety and fatigue he underwent on this occasion, had such an effect on his constitution, that, though the ship and treasure got safe into Madras, the General died on the 26th of April 1783. It would be unnecessary to dwell much upon the military character and abilities of this great commander. Independent of the former brilliant actions of his life, the two last years of it afforded abundant matter to place both in the most exalted point of view. Whoever reflects upon the deplorable and fallen state of the

Death and character of Sir Eyre Coote April 26.

British affairs on the coast of Coromandel, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras in the year 1780, and considers the very inferior force, consisting only of infantry, with which he maintained so successful and glorious a war, against the greatest commander and the most formidable armies that ever India produced, will be satisfied that a recital of those acts is the highest eulogium that could be offered to his memory, and will not hesitate to acknowledge, that he should hold a conspicuous place among those generals whose inherent abilities have most eminently supplied the deficiency of force in war.

Sir Edward Hughes, with the fleet from Bombay, arrived at Madras much about the same time as the General; but such rapid progress had been made by the scurvy on board his ships, that from the 2d of May to the 8th of June, the sick list, on board those of the line of battle, amounted to no less than 125, of whom 605 were in the last stage of the disorder. And, though the fleet was then cleared of all that number, who were sent to the hospital at Madras; yet, in the small space of a fortnight, the healthiest ships had from 70 to 90 men each, and others twice that number, incapable of duty; so that they were scarce provided with hands sufficient to work them. Their numbers had also been lessened by the loss of 10 officers and 127 seamen, blown up in an attempt to save the *Athol* East Indiaman, which had taken fire in the road. It was remarkable, that the ships which had arrived in such good health under Commodore Bickerton, in the preceding year, had now been the greatest sufferers by sickness; for all which, the scarcity of water was assigned as a cause, though that seems hardly adequate to the effect.

This reduction, in point of strength, made no alteration in the diligence and activity of the British commanders to execute the main design of the campaign, namely, the expulsion of the French from the Carnatic. The latter were now, indeed, left to fight the battle alone, by reason of the absence of Tippoo Sultan: however, they were so strongly fortified in Cuddalore, and so well provided with artillery and ammunition of every kind, that the reduction of the place appeared to be a matter of the utmost difficulty; especially as the Marquis de Bussy had lately arrived to take the command, with the last division of the forces from the Mauritius; and France having no continental war to occupy her armies in Europe, she had sent some of her best troops and oldest regiments on this service; and these were further

C H A P. strengthened by a body of sepoy which Tippoo Sultan  
XXXII. had left behind him to act with them as auxiliaries.

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On the part of the British, General Stuart had detached a considerable part of the army under Colonels Lang and Fullarton to invade the southern part of the Sultan's dominions; but though these officers had been attended with great success in their expedition, having taken Dindigul, and other considerable places, the service at Cuddalore was so important, and at the same time so difficult, that it was soon judged necessary to recall Colonel Fullarton, although he had then nearly, if not entirely, subdued the whole Coimbatour country, and seemed in a train of extending his designs still further. The month of May was spent in providing such articles as were necessary for the vessels which were to attend the army on the expedition.

Siege of  
Cuddalore  
by the  
British.

The place they were to attack is described as standing on a peninsula; the neck of land joining it to the continent being composed of very unequal and difficult ground, encumbered with rocky hills, and interrupted by a large tank or pond. On the south it was covered with a very thick wood, which is reckoned in that country one of the best defences possible; as the hardness of the trees renders it in a manner impracticable to cut them; and the extreme succulence of the bamboos, which grow in the intermediate spaces, makes all attempts to set fire to them abortive. On this security, therefore, the French relied; fortifying only those parts of the neck which were open to the country. Perceiving, however, with astonishment, that General Stuart was encamping on the south side, under cover of that wood which they regarded as their own security, and was taking such measures as must soon render the wood of no service to them, they applied themselves with the utmost diligence to supply the failure of that defence by a chain of works continued quite across the neck. The British General perceiving their assiduity in this respect, and that the approaches would soon be covered in such a manner as to render it impossible to make any attempt on the body of the place, thought proper, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, to attempt to prevent their completing these defences by a bold attack upon them at once. Relying upon the goodness of his troops, he accordingly took his measures for this purpose. The greater part of the first line, under the conduct of General Bruce, were destined to the attack; who took their ground silently on the preceding evening, about half a mile in front of the camp. They were composed of the *precious* remains,

June 7.

as the General repeatedly calls them, of the 73d, and of the 78th and 101st royal regiments; of detachments from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, amounting to 600 men, under the conduct of Colonel Wangenheim and Major Varrenius; of a handful of the Madras Europeans, amounting only to about 80; and of some battalions both of Bengal and Madras sepoy. The European grenadiers, amounting with their officers to 360, formed a distinct corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart. The whole number of the Europeans was about 1600.

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The attack began early in the morning, on the left, by Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, who having carried some of the enemy's batteries on the Bandipollum hills, turned their own artillery against them with success. However, the difficulties Colonel Cathcart, Colonel Stuart, and Captain Lamont met with in attacking a redoubt were so great, that no permanent advantage seemed likely to be gained, even after the fire of the artillery had been kept up during the whole morning. The last resource, therefore, was an attempt to carry the works by storm. Accordingly, as soon as the advancing troops were able to close upon the enemy, the fire of the artillery ceased on the part of the British; and the troops, under the command of Colonels Gordon, Cathcart, and Stuart, passing through a most severe discharge of musquetry and grape-shot, entered the entrenchments of the enemy, where a close and dreadful combat ensued. The French, however, received this attack with such firmness, that the assailants were repulsed; but the enemy pursuing without proper caution, the grenadiers, with some troops of Stuart's division, got possession of the post they had left, without their perceiving it; after which, they carried another called Birkmyres, considerably nearer the town, tho' the enemy poured in upon them in such numbers, that they were obliged to abandon it. In the mean time, that part of the army which had been repulsed in the above-mentioned attack, having rallied, repelled the enemy in their turn, who now perceiving the loss of their post, were obliged to take a circuit in order to get into the town. Upon which, a spirited effort was made by General Bruce to cut off their retreat; but some of the enemy's works, which enfiladed an hollow way, through which the troops were passing, poured on them such showers of grape shot, that they were constrained to abandon the attempt. The success they had already met with, however, had such an effect on the enemy, that they abandoned

Obstinate  
encounter  
betwixt  
the French  
and Eng-  
lish.

CHAP. all their works without the fortress the very next  
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This brilliant and important success cannot be supposed, from the nature of the action, to have been cheaply purchased: the loss of men in killed, wounded, and missing, including the native troops, amounted to 962. The royal forces suffered extremely, ten of their officers being killed, thirty wounded, and between four and five hundred of their private men included in the different lists. This was said to be the greatest loss of Europeans, particularly of officers, in proportion to the whole number, that had been yet known in any action in India. Undoubtedly, there never had been one better fought on both sides than the present. The Hanoverians, the grenadiers, and the remains of the 73d, gained distinguished honour on this day; but it was a glory by no means slightly acquired, for their respective loss was severe indeed. Of the first, four officers fell upon the spot, and twelve were wounded; and of their private men, 62 were killed, and 144 wounded; being more than a third of their whole number in the field. Their brave Major Varrenius fell, as he was gallantly leading up his men to the attack of the entrenchments, under that terrible fire which we have before mentioned. The loss of Captain Douglas, deputy adjutant general, and of Lieutenant Peter Campbell, first aid-de-camp, was much regretted. The Hon. Captain Lindsay, who commanded the grenadiers of the 73d, was mortally wounded and refusing to admit the gallant mark of affection eagerly proposed by his men, of staying behind to protect, or to perish along with him, he was taken prisoner. The grenadiers under Colonel Cathcart, as well as their commander, excited general admiration; but their loss in killed and wounded, including 12 officers, was little short of half their number. Nor was the loss of the French, making allowance for their cover, and the strength of their works, at all disproportioned to that of the English; 42 of their officers, and above 600 of their best troops, being that day killed or wounded.

Last engagement between Suffrein and Sir Edward Hughes.

This severe conflict at land was soon followed by another at sea, in which Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein again faced each other. The day after the engagement at Cuddalore, the French fleet arrived from Trincomale, at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar; from whence a correspondence taking place between M. Suffrein and the Marquis de Bussy, the



latter found himself still so strong, as to be able to send the Admiral a supply of 1200 men, in order to reinforce his fleet for the expected encounter with that of England. Several days were spent in manœuvring, in which the French Admiral had the good fortune, or the dexterity, to gain and preserve the wind. As the British squadron, however, were now for the first time superior in number, the odds being 17 to 15, he shewed less inclination to engage than formerly. The action, therefore, did not commence till the 20th of June 1783, the fourth day after the fleets had been in sight of each other; and even then, no more than a distant cannonade of three hours took place; after which M. Suffrein drew off, without shewing the least inclination to renew the battle, though braved to it in Pondicherry road for a whole day by the British Admiral. Sir Edward, however, could not wait for him long. The want of water on board the fleet was now so extreme, and the number of the sick, now increased by the wounded, so great, that he was under an absolute necessity of proceeding to Madrafs, in order to land the one, and procure a supply of the other. Upon the departure of the British squadron, M. de Suffrein immediately proceeded to Cuddalore, where he not only returned the 1200 men he had received from M. Buffy, but landed 2400 of his own, in order to assist in the defence of that place.

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The loss of men on the English side in this action, amounted to 99 killed, and to 431 wounded; a few brave officers were included in both lists; but the Captains were for this time *Scotfree*.

This was the fifth and last battle between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein; and concluded the severe course of naval warfare between the two nations in India: a war in which infinite valour was displayed on both sides; but in the course of which, several appearances of national rancour and animosity which occurred on that of the French Admiral, will by no means serve to exalt his character as a philosopher or a man, however high his reputation may be deservedly held as a bold and brave naval commander.

As General Stuart was now left in a very critical situation, weakened by the violence of the attack last mentioned, and destitute of any hope or assistance from the fleet, while on the other hand the enemy had received a great accession of strength, it was judged expedient by the latter to make an attempt on the British lines, in order to decide the matter at once, before the

Unsuccessful attempt to force the British lines at Cuddalore

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June 25.

Bravery  
of the  
sepoys.

End of the  
war in the  
East In-  
dies.

succours expected under Colonels Lang and Fullarton should arrive. The conduct of the enterprise was committed to the Chevalier de Damas, a Knight of Malta, and Colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, who in this sally commanded some of the best troops in France: nor was his party less considerable for its number than for the goodness of the troops who composed it, so that the greatest hopes of success were entertained. With this force the French commander advanced in the dark, and with great silence, to the attack of the trenches, about three o'clock in the morning of the 25th of June; and notwithstanding the constant state of preparation in which the British troops were kept, gained at first some slight advantage. As soon, however, as the British had time to seize their arms, their assailants were opposed with the greatest firmness; and when day-light appeared, they not only maintained their ground, but pushed the enemy so hard, that they were completely routed; the Chevalier de Damas himself, with some other officers, and about 150 of his soldiers being taken prisoners.—The whole loss on the part of the assailants was computed at 400 men.—That of the British was very trifling, and what little there was, fell chiefly on the 24th battalion of Bengal sepoys, whose conduct on this occasion was equally singular and extraordinary, having fought some of the oldest and best troops of France with the bayonet, and foiled them at that favourite European weapon, which is supposed to be the most trying test of the firmness and excellency of soldiers. It was, therefore, with much propriety that the General, in his address of thanks to the army, assured these brave sepoys, that he would recommend their services so effectually to the governments of Bengal and Madras, that they and their families should ever be supported and rewarded according to their merit.

Colonel Gordon, Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, and Major Cotgrove, were the three officers who commanded on that morning in the trenches. They all gained the greatest honour by the presence of mind and firmness with which they withstood the surprise, and the gallantry with which they avenged the insult.

In two or three days after this sally, the *Medea* frigate arrived under a flag from Madras at Cuddalore, bringing information from Lord Macartney and the Admiral of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; in consequence of which, a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place.

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*British Parliament—King's Speech—Debates on the address—on the supply—Confiscations at St Eustatius—Number of seamen—American war—Army estimates—Exchange of prisoners—Land and Malt-tax bills—Adjournment—Want of success by sea—Lord George Germain's Peerage—Addresses against the American war—Motion for a truce or peace—Capture of Lord Cornwallis—Resolutions against Ministry, who resign—New Ministry.*

HAVING thus given an account of the military operations carried on throughout the various parts of the globe, it only remains to take a short review of the state of affairs in Great Britain and Ireland subsequent to the capture of Lord Cornwallis, and of those proceedings in Parliament which led to a change of public measures, and the introduction of a new ministry, by whom such plans were adopted as had an immediate tendency to put a stop to the most ruinous and destructive war in which this country had ever been engaged.

The constant triumphs of the ministry over every effort to oppose them, and their unremitting perseverance to carry on the war with America in despite of every remonstrance at home and calamity abroad, had, by the year 1781, nearly annihilated all popular clamours on the subject. It was considered as an evil which could not be remedied; and the retreat of our channel fleet, the interruption of our commerce, the constant insults offered to the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, with the evident danger of having the dominion of the sea transferred to our enemies, were

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Parliament.

C H A P. beheld with the most seeming indifference. Our very  
 XXXIII. successes had unfortunately been confined against a  
 1781. power whose interests had hitherto been considered as  
 in some measure involving our own ; and the triumphs  
 over an ancient ally, and a weak and unprovided enemy,  
 afforded matter of no small exultation to the ignorant  
 and inconsiderate. In such a state of things, it cannot  
 be wondered, that the enormous weight of influence  
 which ministers derived from the ordinary and estab-  
 lished power of the Crown, the patronage of immense  
 military establishments, and the annual expenditure of  
 upwards of twenty millions of the public money  
 should overpower the unaided and dispirited efforts of  
 those who wished to rouse the nation to a sense of its  
 real situation.

King's  
 Speech.

In the midst of this lethargic disposition of the people  
 at large, however, Parliament seemed to assume a  
 degree of vigour and independence little known in  
 former years. The repeated defeats of the ministry in  
 the last session of Parliament, which had procured its  
 dissolution, had no doubt shewn a rise of the same kind  
 of spirit, which, however, it was expected would have  
 been crushed in the new House of Commons ; but the  
 news of the dreadful disaster of Virginia, which arrived  
 but a few days before the session in the close of 1781,  
 threatened to be as fatal to ministerial power at home, as  
 it was to their schemes abroad. As this misfortune, how-  
 ever, was neither to be denied nor palliated, it was own-  
 ed in its full extent in the speech at the opening of  
 the session, November 27, 1781. No intention of peace  
 was yet hinted. The continuance of the war was  
 ascribed to that restless ambition which first excited our  
 enemies to commence it. It was declared, that his  
 majesty would not answer the trust committed to the  
 sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return  
 to his subjects for their constant, zealous, and affec-  
 tionate attachment to his person, family, and govern-  
 ment, if he consented to sacrifice either to his own de-  
 sire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those  
 essential rights and permanent interests, upon the main-  
 tenance and preservation of which the future strength  
 and security of the country must forever principally de-  
 pend. The losses in America were stated as a ground for  
 calling out the firm concurrence and reliance of par-  
 liament, and a more vigorous, animated, and united ex-  
 ertion of the national faculties and resources ; and the  
 speech concluded with an account of the safe and pro-  
 perous arrival of the commercial fleets, and the fa-

honourable appearance of East India affairs, with a strong recommendation to parliament to resume their inquiries into the state of affairs in that part of the world. CHAP. XXXIII.  
1781.

A motion for an address of thanks, couched in the usual style, was made in the house of Commons, by Mr Perceval, and seconded by Mr Thomas Ord. The former of these gentlemen observed, that his wishes for the re-establishment of peace were ardent and sincere; but he was fully convinced, that a durable and advantageous peace could result only from the firm, vigorous, and unremitting prosecution of the war. The present was not the time to relinquish hope, but to resolve upon exertion. By despair we should invite calamity to overwhelm us; and ill would it become a great and valiant people, whose resources were yet powerful and numerous, to submit where they should resist, to look with indifference upon their political importance, and to tarnish, by indolent pusillanimity, the national and dear-bought glories, both of remote and of recent æras, instead of opposing, with augmented force, a combination whose inveterate efforts to throw out of the scale of Europe the whole political existence of Great Britain, were strengthened by the late victory over Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. But if a general spirit of unanimity, so requisite at one of the most alarming and important periods in the British annals, were to arise within the walls of parliament, and thence to diffuse itself throughout the body of the people, the gloom that hovered round us would rapidly disperse, and great successes would conduct the nation back to all its pristine splendour and felicity. Mr Ord also strongly exhorted the house to become unanimous in their resolutions for the support of government; and declared himself of opinion, that nothing could tend to restore the greatness of this country but a successful prosecution of the war, which might lead to such a peace as would accord with the honour and dignity of Great Britain. Similar sentiments were thrown out by some other gentlemen on the side of administration.

The address was opposed by Mr Fox with his usual energy and rapidity of eloquence. That gentleman said, that there never was any time when it was so necessary to observe, as at the present, that the speech from the throne was not to be considered as the speech of the king, but of the ministers. He had expected, and it had been the general expectation of many

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others; that this speech would have been of a very different tendency; that they should have heard his majesty declare from the throne, "That he had been deceived and imposed upon by misinformation and misrepresentation; that, in consequence of his delusion, the parliament had been deluded; but that now the deception was at an end. He saw that he had been in an error, and that he and his people had suffered enough from the consequences of it; and therefore, that he requested of his parliament to devise the most speedy and direct means of putting an end to the public calamities, and of restoring peace, security, and happiness to his dominions." But, instead of a speech of this kind, they had heard one which breathed little else but rancour, vengeance, misery, and blood. Having inveighed against the original principles of the war, and no less against the ministerial mode of conducting it, with the inferiority of the fleet in every quarter of the globe, he appealed to the cool and dispassionate sense of the house upon the utter impracticability of reducing the colonies by force, of which they now had full experience; and particularly called upon the paymaster general, who had formerly declared, That if the capture of Charlestown produced no decisive consequences, he should grow weary of the American war, to join him in obliging administration to put an end to it. He concluded his speech with moving, That the whole of the proposed address should be omitted, excepting the first paragraph; and that, in the room of what was left out, the following words should be added as an amendment: "And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and digest such councils as may, in this crisis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his majesty's subjects."

The motion for an amendment was seconded by Mr Minchin; and it was supported by Mr Burke, who remarked, that if there could be a greater misfortune than had been already undergone by this kingdom in the present disgraceful contest, it was hearing men rise up in the great assembly of the nation to vindicate such measures. This was the most alarming part of our condition. For, if the ministry and the parliament were not to be taught by experience, if neither calamities could make them feel, nor the voice of God make them wise, what had this fallen and undone country to hope for? If any thing could tend

to deject the people of England, to make them despair of their situation, and resign themselves to their fate, it must be to receive information, that their ministers, after all that had been suffered, were yet determined to go on with the American war. A battle might be lost, an enterprise might miscarry, an island might be captured; an army might be lost in the best of causes, and even under a system of vigour and foresight; because the battle, after all the wisdom and bravery of man, was in the hands of heaven; but if either, or all these calamities had happened in a good cause, and under the auspices of a vigilant administration, a brave people would not despair. But it was not so in the present case. Amidst all their sufferings and their misfortunes, they saw nothing so distressing as the weakness or wickedness of their ministers. It seemed still determined to go on, without plan, and without foresight, in this war of calamities; for every thing that happened in it was a calamity. He considered them all alike, victories and defeats; towns taken, and towns evacuated; new generals appointed, and old generals recalled; they were all alike calamities in his eyes; for they all spurred us on to this fatal business. Victories gave us hopes, defeats made us desperate, and both instigated us to go on. They were, therefore, both calamities; and the king's speech was the greatest calamity of all: For the king's speech shewed us the disposition of the ministers; and this disposition was not to retreat an inch; to go on, to plunge us deeper, to make our situation more disgraceful, and more unhappy.

As this speech was received with silence on the part of the usual advocates in favour of administration, Lord North undertook their defence in person. With regard to the principles on which the American war proceeded, he contended, that it had not originated, as had been falsely represented, in any design of ministry to aggrandise the power, or increase the influence of the Crown. America had not resisted the prerogative of the crown, but the claims of parliament. Ministers, therefore, had engaged in the war, in order to support and maintain the just rights and privileges of parliament; and with respect to the continuance of the war, the question was in no shape before the house; and therefore, no gentleman, voting for the address, was bound, in consequence of such a vote, to pledge himself to assent either to the continuance of the war, or to any specific mode of carrying it on.

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This mode of explanation, however agreeable to administration, was deemed insidious and delusive by the opposite party; but, on a division, the amendment was rejected by a majority of 218 to 129.

When the report of the address was brought up the following day, it again met with some farther opposition; and Mr William Pitt distinguished himself on this occasion. He declared, that the duty he owed to his sovereign and to his country, would not permit him to remain in silence, when he saw the ministry running headlong into measures which could end only in the ruin of the state. He wished to shew his attachment to his sovereign, and to his family, by holding to him a language which would convince him that he had been deceived by those to whom he looked for advice. He wished to discharge his duty to his country, by endeavouring to prevent the parliament from precipitately voting an address, which pledged the house in the most direct manner to prosecute the American war, and to support the continuance of that fatal system which had led this country, step by step, to the most calamitous and disgraceful situation to which a once flourishing and glorious empire could possibly be reduced; a situation that threatened the final dissolution of the empire, if not prevented by timely, wise, and vigorous efforts.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland paid some high compliments to Mr Pitt, whose powerful abilities, and brilliant eloquence, he said, were universally acknowledged proofs, that the astonishing extent and force of an exalted understanding, had descended, in an hereditary line, from the late illustrious possessor of them, to a son equally endued with all the fire, and strength, and grace of oratory. He then laboured to prove, that the address proposed did not bind the members of that house to any one specific line of conduct, but was merely the sort of language which was most fit, under the circumstances of the times, for parliament to hold to their sovereign. He likewise remarked, that it was sometimes insinuated, that the ministry supported measures which they did not approve, and which were diametrically opposite to their own principles. He thought such insinuations to be very ill grounded; but he would venture to give it as his opinion, that in every great and important national crisis like the present, no good whatever was to be expected from an administration, the members of which did not act upon their own bottom, their own principles, their own



judgment, and with a most perfect concordance of opinion. That minister, whoever he might be, who could consent to stay in place during the prevalence of measures repugnant to his own principles, and militating against his judgment, betrayed his trust, and deserved the execrations of his country for his meanness.

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After some farther debate, the house divided on the motion for bringing up the report of the address, which was carried by a majority of 131 to 54.

In the House of Peers a motion for an address, similar to that of the House of Commons, was made by Lord Southampton, and seconded by Lord Walsingham. It was vigorously opposed by the Earl of Shelburne, who observed, that seven years had now elapsed since blood was first drawn in America; and, from that period to the present, the affairs of Great Britain had been continually growing worse. Of nearly eighty-seven thousand men sent to America, how few had returned! What treasures had been in vain expended! What enormous debts accumulated! The most liberal national supplies had been followed by nothing but calamities; and the whole proceedings of the ministry manifested a want of system and of intelligence. Among other instances of mismanagement, his Lordship remarked, that instead of blocking up the French fleets within their own harbours, or immediately intercepting them on their putting out to sea, we had suffered them to sail far upon their expeditions to our distant settlements; and when they had acquired this great advantage, we slowly followed their powerful armaments with inconsiderable squadrons, and scarcely ever reached the place of destination till the enterprises of the enemy were totally accomplished.

When the ministry had broken with the Dutch, it seemed reasonable to suppose, that at least they would have dispatched armaments to seize on some of the spice islands, on Ceylon, or some other important settlement. But what had they done? They had taken St Eustatius; and had pretended, that this important conquest would put an end to the rebellion. That island, they said, was the source of stores to America, and the capture of it must terminate the war. But was that the case? On the contrary, our admiral and general who took the island, had ten times better have burnt the stores they found there, than have done what they did with them. They had sold them to go in neutral vessels, so that they fell into the hands of the very people from whom it was pretended that they were to

CHAP. have been kept: And his Lordship declared it to be  
 XXXII. his opinion, that the capture of Earl Cornwallis was  
 1781. owing to the preceding capture of St Eustatius. As to  
 the farther prosecution of the war, with the least prospect of success, it was totally impossible. The nation was too much exhausted both of men and money; recruits were not to be procured for the army; and as to our navy, if we had the best first lord of the admiralty, and the ablest board that ever sat, it was impossible to provide for all the distant services of so extensive a war. The reason was obvious: The fine navy that belonged to Great Britain, at the conclusion of the war, had been suffered to rot and moulder away, while France and Spain had recruited and repaired their marine during the whole period of the peace. His Lordship concluded by moving an amendment to the address, similar to that proposed in the House of Commons.

The Duke of Richmond thought, that besides the omissions which that nobleman had recommended in the original address, another paragraph should also be omitted, which his Lordship had consented to let stand. This was the second paragraph, in which it was declared, that "the House saw, with equal concern and indignation, the war prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited his Majesty's enemies to commence it." It was his firm persuasion, that the king's ministers, and not the restless ambition of his Majesty's enemies, were the cause not only of the war, but of all the calamities which had so rapidly followed each other, nearly from the commencement of the present reign. The dreadful and ignominious situation of our affairs originated from the same cause from which the private misfortunes of individuals frequently proceed, namely, from folly. It was owing to that wretched system of government, which had been early adopted in the reign of his present Majesty, and which first gave rise to that abominable title, that odious distinction, *a King's friend*; as if a man could not act in opposition to the measures of government, without being a personal enemy to his Majesty.—His Grace farther remarked, that it was the duty of their Lordships to suggest salutary advice to the Crown, and to stand up assertors of the rights of the people: but he thought there was little prospect of giving such advice with any effect, unless the original principles of the constitution were restored, and particularly unless the people had a real representa-

sion in the other House of Parliament. At present, scarcely a seventh part of the people were represented, while all the remainder had no concern whatever, either virtually or individually, in the management of their own affairs; which their Lordships well knew, the constitution of this country, as originally framed, gave them a right to have. He appealed to the House, whether many of their Lordships did not name the members for several boroughs, and whether the representatives were not chosen only by the management of two or three burghes. He also made some observations on the interior cabinet, which had, he said, been the ruin of this country. To prove its mischievous tendency, he instanced the declaration of the late Earl of Chatham, who confessed to the House, that "he was duped and deceived, and that he had not been ten days in the Cabinet before he felt the ground rotten under his feet."—His Grace likewise said that though it was the middle of a war, he made no scruple to recommend it most strenuously to government, immediately to set about curtailing the numbers of the army, and that as much as possible. He thought that Ireland might be guarded sufficiently by the volunteers, and this country by the militia, if put upon a proper footing. He recommended, that arms should be put into the hands of the people, for the purposes of domestic defence; and he did not doubt but that, in this case, they would act with greater power and success, than even the most numerous military forces. He also advised withdrawing the troops from America, augmenting the navy as much as possible, and sending such succours to the West India islands, as might enable them effectually to resist any attempts from the enemy.

Lord Stormont defended the address as originally proposed; and observed, that the language of the speech from the throne was proper to be held by any prince worthy of the crown in a moment like the present; and the long established custom rendered such an address as had been moved the fit answer to it. Would their Lordships wish to tell all Europe, at such a period as the present, that they should not support his Majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the war? The preservation of America, a dependent part of the British empire, was too important to be relinquished; and the present crisis, so far from justifying despair, called for redoubled ardour, and for immediate exertion.

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Lord Camden thought the address had something lurking under it; and if he voted for it, he should conscientiously think himself bound to vote for every measure of the ministry, relative to the American war, during the whole session. He attacked Lord Stormont's argument; and said, with regard to the speech and the address, that the one was an echo of the other; they both, as their Lordships well knew, came out of the same shop; and, in fact, it was the minister answering the minister. His Lordship took a retrospective view of all the operations of the campaign by sea and land, commenting severely upon each. He declared, that it was the custom of France to fit out a large force to effect an expedition wisely planned, and generally successfully executed; and that it was our custom to follow the French with a small force, and to arrive after the business was done; so that we resembled the clumsy fencer described by Demosthenes, who was remarkable for clapping his hand to the part of his body after he had received a blow, but never hit his adversary, nor warded off any one of his attacks. His Lordship concluded with reminding the House of the speech of a Spanish statesman to Philip III, who was at war with every power in Europe, when the statesman to comfort his master, said, "Please your Majesty, you have but two enemies, all the world and your own ministers."

The Lord Chancellor said, that the present speech from the throne, like all others at the commencement of a session, was no more than a brief state of the nation, delivered in the ancient style of composition, and conformably to established usage, from almost the first existence of a parliament; and as to the address, its language not being specifically binding, their Lordships might vote in favour of it, without pledging themselves to support any future ministerial measure whatever. The House at length divided, when Lord Shelburne's amendment was rejected, by a majority of 75 to 31. A short protest against the address was entered in the journals of the House, signed by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Earl Fitzwilliam, in which they declared, that they dissented, "for reasons too often urged in vain for the last seven years against the ruinous prosecution of the unjust war carrying on by his Majesty's ministers against the people of North America, and too fatally confirmed by re-

peated experience, and the late disgraceful loss of a second army, to stand in need of repetition."

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The moderate behaviour of ministry on the present occasion, did not yet satisfy those who were averse to the American war; and it was supposed, not without great reason, that it was their intention still to prosecute that destructive and ruinous scheme. To prevent all possibility of this, on a motion being made by Sir Grey Cooper that the house should resolve itself into a committee of supply, it was moved by Mr Thomas Pitt, Nov. 30, That no vote of supply should be granted until the house had received some security that the ministers were resolved to alter their measures.

Debates on  
the supply

Sir Grey Cooper replied, that the motion which had been made by him, was not calculated for the immediate purpose of voting a considerable sum for the maintenance of a particular service, relating either to the army or the navy, in which the question of the American war might be involved; but the sole exclusive question now in agitation, was, Whether the house should go into a committee, for the purpose of voting a supply already promised to the crown, in consequence of their assurances that it should meet with their support? Of such alarming magnitude were the inconveniencies and the detriment which must arise from the imposition of a negative upon the question, that it appeared astonishing, that the opposers of it did not perceive the dangers that were attendant upon their conduct. They should consider, that if they succeeded in this impolitic and unwarrantable resistance against the motion, they would declare to all Europe, that Great Britain had resolved actually to disband her army, to break up her fleets, and to deprive her realms of every measure of defence.

Mr Fox asserted, that the period was arrived that must render it strictly proper in the people to determine to withhold all succours whatsoever, unless the grievances, which pressed upon them with such intolerable weight, were previously removed. The idea, that a temporary prevention of the grant of the supplies must strike with dangerous violence against the interests of the state, was too futile to deserve a laboured refutation. It would suffice to ask, whether the national misfortunes, which thickened over the course of the preceding year, could possibly have proved more numerous and affecting, if no money whatsoever had been granted for the service of the war? What benefits had accompanied a most enormous dis-

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sipation of the treasure of the public? If the present ministry should still retain their posts, it was of little consequence to the nation whether we possessed either fleets or armies.

Lord North said, that a speedy and generous grant of supplies to the crown, would thoroughly convince our enemies, that no calamities could sink us into despair, or even hinder us from redoubling our exertions. But a refusal of the supplies would tend to severe and disunite the government of Great Britain from the Commons of Great Britain. Such an act seemed big with insurmountable calamities, that must affect not merely the prosperity, but even the existence the state: and great must be the triumph of our enemies, should they perceive it taking place in that alarming moment, when, perhaps, the only method of extricating ourselves from every surrounding peril and perplexity, would be, the sincere and vigorously active union of all hands and all hearts in the defence of the kingdom and its interests. The refusal of the supplies to the crown, even in time of peace, must be followed by a train of insurmountable perplexities; but in time of war, a war formidable and raging like the present, it would inevitably lead to deep and irretrievable calamity and disgrace. Every measure which confined the exertion, and lessened the ardour of Great Britain, in defence of its just rights and essential interests, would prove a source of strength, of animation, and of triumph to Spain, to France, to Holland, and to America.

Several other gentlemen spoke in this debate, at the close of which Mr Thomas Pitt rose a second time, and declared, that he still continued of opinion that a refusal to vote for the supplies, until pledges of amendment in the direction of public measures shall be sincerely given, must strengthen and not debilitate the hands of government. It must rather throw more national resources into the legal power of the crown, than lessen those of which it was possessed. It must quicken, instead of frustrating, the future glorious operations of properly directed war. The right of withholding supplies from the crown was coeval with the constitution of parliament, and essential to a free government: and it was high time that this right should be exercised, till some evidence was given to the people, that such a change of system, and such measures were adopted, as might put some stop to the calamities of the empire. The question was at length put upon Sir Grey Cooper's motion, which was carried by a majority of 172 to 77.

Mr Burke, moved for an inquiry into the confiscations at Eustatius, and the subsequent sale and conveyance of the goods to the French islands, and other ports belonging to his Majesty's enemies. In the discussion of this affair, he set forth the expedition against St Eustatius in a very ridiculous light. "After an unsuccessful attempt," said he, "upon the island of St Vincent, against which a weak and insufficient force had been employed, the British commanders, in obedience to directions received from England, turned their arms against Eustatius. This island was known to be in a state totally defenceless. A single gun, of which the friendly and courteous use was to salute the ships of the English and other European powers, on their arrival at this free port, remained upon the walls of a mouldering old castle, in which there was a garrison of 27 soldiers, and about thirty other persons of various descriptions. The armament employed for the reduction of the settlement thus defended, and ignorant even of the commencement of hostilities betwixt the two nations, consisted of 15 sail of the line, a proportionable number of frigates, and near 3000 chosen troops. On this occasion, the miracle of Jericho was needless; for, at the first sound of the trumpet, and long before the ramparts could have fallen, the governor surrendered the island at discretion. But it seems that our commanders interpreted *discretion* into *destruction*, for they did not leave the conquered a shilling. Their warehouses were locked up; their books taken from them; their provisions withheld; and they were compelled to give in an account of all their ready money, plate, jewels, &c. Nor was rank, or sex, or age, spared in the general order; all were included, and all were forced to comply. Nay, so great had the hardships been which the inhabitants were forced to undergo, that Governor Meynell, who died, was supposed to have fallen a victim to the hardships he had endured. The next measure was, the general proscription of all the inhabitants, by which they were ordered to quit the island, all without exception. The Dutch were banished, because they were Dutch; the Americans, because they were king's enemies; and the Jews because they were of a different religion from that of their conquerors. The case of Mr Gouverneur was not a little remarkable: He had traded solely in dry goods; and no naval or military stores whatever had passed through his hands; but he acted upon com-

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mission from the Congress. They viewed this gentleman in a twofold light, and thereby were sure to catch him doubly: they considered him as a Dutchman, and as an Englishman. As a Dutchman, they confiscated his property; as an Englishman, they confined him as a traitor, and sent him to England, to be reserved for the justice of his country to pronounce upon him. The poor Jews at St Eustatia were treated in a worse manner, if possible than all the other inhabitants. They were stripped of all their money, and eight of them put on board a ship, to be carried out of the island. One of them in particular, Mr Hohen, a venerable old gentleman, near seventy years of age, had even his clothes searched; "and, from this bit of linen, (said Mr Burke, holding it up), which was sewed in the poor man's coat, were taken 36 s. which he had had the consummate audacity to endeavour to conceal for the purpose of buying victuals." The commanders in chief having determined upon the confiscation, the next thing to be thought of was the sale of the goods. A proclamation was accordingly issued promising free ingress and regress to all purchasers, together with security that their money should not be taken from them, and that they should be at liberty to carry away the goods they should purchase. If this difficulty had not been obviated, there would have been no purchasers: a convoy was therefore promised to them, and actually granted; and he could prove, that the convoy was the *Convert* frigate, Captain Harvey, which was appointed to see the purchasers with their commodities clear of the privateers; by which means the goods got safe into Martinique, a place which our privateers would never have suffered them to reach, if St Eustatia had remained under the Dutch. Another circumstance was, that the goods so sold had been disposed of 50 *per cent.* cheaper than the Dutch had before that sold similar articles to the French; so that in fact the only apparent use that the conquest of St Eustatia appeared to be of was, that the French and Americans had been supplied with stores by our commanders, and at 50 *per cent.* cheaper than they used to get them from the Dutch. Three months too were spent by these commanders in disposing of and securing the plunder of St Eustatius.—The consequences of this conduct, with respect to the events of the campaign, both in the West Indies and America, were next adverted to by Mr Burke. The fleet under the command of Sir



George Rodney, even after the departure of Commo-  
dore Hotham, who had sailed with a small Squadron  
to convoy a part of the treasure found in St Eustatius  
to England, amounted to 21 sail of the line. The  
whole French force, previous to the arrival of Mons.  
de Grasse, consisted only of eight ships of the line,  
and one fifty. This favourable opportunity of recover-  
ing some of our former possessions, or attacking those  
of the enemy, was entirely neglected; the whole  
fleet, and near 3000 chosen troops, being kept upwards  
of two months in a state of total inaction, for the im-  
portant service of protecting the sales of St Eustatius.  
The second misfortune, that had sprung from the same  
disgraceful cause, was the weakness of the detach-  
ment sent under the command of Sir Samuel Hood,  
to prevent the junction of the French fleet in the  
West Indies, and that which arrived with de Grasse  
from Europe. Three sail of the line were detained  
by the commanders, for the same laudable purpose of  
securing the plunder of St Eustatius; and this sepa-  
ration of our naval force, in all human probability,  
brought on the whole train of calamitous events which  
followed;—the junction of the French fleets; the  
loss of Tobago; and finally, the dreadful disaster in the  
Cheasapeak.

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In answer to this weighty and pointed charge, Sir  
George Rodney, after a virulent invective against the  
Dutch, declared, that their perfidious attachment to  
the enemies of Great Britain had determined him to  
adopt the line of conduct he had pursued, in the capture  
of St Eustatius; and that, in his opinion, it fully justified  
the entire confiscation of the property found on that  
island. He could not have been actuated by any mer-  
cenary views in this determination, as he had avowedly  
made the seizure for the sole and exclusive benefit  
of the crown; and had not received intelligence, till  
long after the confiscation, of his Majesty's gracious  
intentions of relinquishing his right in favour of the  
fleet and army, to whom the island had surrendered.  
With respect to the outrages that were alledged to  
have been committed, or any wanton and lawless exer-  
cise of power, he asserted, that as far as the accusa-  
tion related to himself, it was absolutely groundless.  
In regard to the charge of having suffered stores and  
provisions to be purchased for the service of the enemy,  
and transported to the islands in their possession, he  
declared that the very reverse was the truth; that he  
had given the strictest orders none of them should be

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 XXXIII. scrupulously exact had he been in this respect, that he  
 1781. had not only examined himself the clearance of every  
 ship that went out of the port, but caused them to anchor under his stern, where they were strictly examined by commissioned officers of the navy. As to the aspersions thrown on his military character, for remaining three months inactive at St Eustatius, and detaching an inadequate force to prevent the junction of the French fleets, he remarked, that during that period he had planned two expeditions, one against Curacoa, and the other against Surinam; and was on the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of Mons. de Grasse. That this intelligence reported the French fleet to consist of no more than twelve sail of the line; and that consequently, he had thought Sir Samuel Hood a sufficient match for them with fifteen. That as soon as he heard of the failure of Sir Samuel Hood, he had put to sea with the ships remaining at St Eustatius, and sailed to join the fleet; that he had put St Lucia into such a posture of defence, as had preserved that island from the subsequent attack of the French; and that he should doubtless have intercepted M. de Grasse himself, had not his designs been traiterously discovered to the enemy. The loss of Tobago, and the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign in the Chesapeake, were, he said, laid to his charge with equal injustice. With respect to the former, as soon as he heard it had been attacked, he immediately sent Rear-Admiral Drake with six sail of the line to relieve it. And as to the charge brought by the Governor of Tobago, all he would say in answer was, that even the guns he had sent the year before for its defence, had never been mounted by the Governor. With respect to the disaster in the Chesapeake, he had taken every step in his power to prevent it. He had sent twice to the Admiral at Jamaica, to forward the Prince William and Torbay to America with the greatest dispatch; and he sent also three times to the Admiral in America, desiring he would collect his whole force, and meet him with it off the Capes of Virginia; but no answer had been sent to him, or to Sir Samuel Hood; for he himself was then so ill that he was coming home. If the Admiral in America had met Sir Samuel Hood near the Chesapeake, the probability was, that De Grasse would have been defeated, and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis prevented.

Sir George was followed by Major General Vaughan, CHAP  
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1781. who went nearly over the same ground, denying, in the most solemn manner, his having had any share or concern in the depredation and outrages alledged to have been committed. He refused to account for his conduct to an individual, but declared himself ready to enter into the fullest investigation of it before the House, if they should think fit to call for it; and, in proof of the falsity of one of the charges, he read an address he had received from the warden and rulers of the Jews, expressing the fullest sense of the obligations they owed him for his protection.

Issue being thus joined by the two parties, the motion for a Committee of Enquiry was strongly supported by Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr Fox, Mr Barre, and Mr Sheridan. It was opposed by Lord George Germaine, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the Secretary at War, and Lord North. The two last objected principally to that part of the motion, which tended to prejudicate and affect the claims under litigation in the courts below; declaring their readiness to consent to the fullest investigation of the remaining charges. The Lord Advocate objected to the whole, for want of a specific accusation, and because, he said, the allegations were too indeterminate to be the ground of a parliamentary inquiry.

The efforts of Mr Burke, on behalf of the inhabitants of Tobago, did great honour to his eloquence and to his humanity; but all his endeavours were in vain. It was the determination of the ministry to oppose any further inquiry into the business; so that his motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 163 to 89.

This debate was followed by another on the state of Numbers of  
seamen. the navy. In a committee of the whole House on the supply, December 5, Lord Lisburne stated, that in the present posture of affairs, the greatest exertions ought to be made, to enable his Majesty effectually to oppose the formidable confederacy with which he had to contend: it was for this reason he intended to move for the greatest number of seamen that had ever been applied for to parliament. Last year the House had voted 90,000; for the service of the ensuing year he intended to move for 100,000 seamen including 21,721 marines.

In consequence of this motion, a debate took place on the state of the navy, in which it was asserted on

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the part of administration, that the number of seamen then actually employed amounted to 99,000; that the number of ships of the line in commission was 92 sail, which was six less than we possessed twelve months before; that this diminution was occasioned by the loss of six ships of the line during the hurricanes, and by the accidents of war; but that the whole naval strength of Great Britain amounted to 405 vessels; and that, in the course of the year, there would be an addition of 14 sail of the line.

Mr Hussey, member for New Saurum, moved as an amendment to Lord Lisburne's motion, that the number of seamen voted should be 110,000, instead of 100,000. He urged in support of this amendment, that the members of administration had shewn, from year to year, a criminal inattention respecting the state of the navy; and that their partiality for the army, and their consequent indifference relative to the establishment of a formidable navy, were the sources of those calamities which now almost overwhelmed the British empire. From the mad and impotent desire, from the baneful plans and injudicious struggles to coerce America, had arisen the preference given to the army over the navy, which at all preceding periods had been the great defence and glory of this island.

It was asserted on behalf of administration, that the proposed amendment was necessary, because the admiralty now actually employed every seaman whom they could possibly procure; that the Admiralty and Navy Boards had recurred to every possible exertion for strengthening and augmenting the marine; and that, before the expiration of the year, it would be more numerous and powerful than it was at present. The House at length divided on Mr Hussey's amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 143 to 77; after which, the original motion proposed by Lord Lisburne was agreed to by the House.

On the day appointed for voting the army supplies, December 12, the House was early and uncommonly crowded. The difficulty with which it was foreseen the minister would be brought to disclose the intentions of government, and the dexterity he had already shewn in evading the questions with which he had been pressed on that subject, induced the Opposition to bring forward a motion, which, though it should fail in its intended effect, of forcing from him any binding declaration, might at least serve to discover the number of those in the House who, without respect to their

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motion against the  
American  
war.

general political sentiments, agreed in opinion with them upon the prosecution of the war. CHAP  
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As the object of this measure was to form a coalition from all parties, for the sole purpose of obliging the crown to put an end to an attempt at once ruinous and impracticable, the motion was in terms the most cool and temperate. It was, "to declare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America, had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his Majesty's loyal subjects there, and of defeating the hostile intentions of our confederated enemies." And, secondly, "That it was the opinion of the House, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies."

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The motion was seconded by Mr Powis. He said, that the vote of that day must either accelerate the ruin of Great Britain, or prove the instrument of restoring it to its habitual lustre, to all its former power, and to the plenitude of happiness and honour. A variety of pretexts, insidiously advanced by the ministry, and too credulously received by the majority of that House, had seduced them, from one session to another, to move with fatal steps along the path to national destruction. They had persevered in the American war against the voice of reason and of wisdom; against that experience which ought to have taught them, and that calamity which ought to have made them feel: That war was the idol of his Majesty's ministers, to which they had sacrificed the interests of the empire, and almost half its territories. They had bowed before it themselves, and had made the nation bow. They had asserted, that the public resources were not exhausted; and they had made this assertion, because they themselves found no diminution of income. Their annual incomes arose out of the public purse; and instead of diminishing, they increased with the misfortunes and with the impoverishment of the country. The American war, in which the ministry so madly persisted, had been a war of delusion from the beginning to the end. Every promise had been broken, every assertion had been falsified, every object had been completely given up. But it was time to put an end to these delusions; the period was come, when it was indispensably necessary that the Parliament should interfere, in order to avert that ruin with

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As soon as he sat down, Lord North arose, imagining, he said, that the House were in immediate expectation of hearing his opinion, and sensible that the sooner it was given, they would be able, with the greater facility and precision, to form a proper judgment on the two propositions that had been offered to their consideration. To the motion, he said, he had great and weighty objections; but before he stated them to the House, he felt himself bound especially after what had passed on another occasion, to speak much more explicitly than what was his usual custom, and indeed, than was wise and politic for a man in a high and responsible office to do, concerning the future mode of prosecuting the war. He then declared, that his Majesty's servants had come to a determination, that the mode of prosecuting hostilities internally on the continent of America should no longer be followed; but that the form of the war should undergo a total change.—This declaration, he said, he should not have thought himself warranted in duty to make, had not the estimates of the army, then on the table, declared nearly as much. By those estimates, the House would see, that Government had not provided itself with the means of carrying on the war in the manner it had hitherto been conducted; and, therefore, the House could not require a surer pledge of the future intentions of administration. Having made this declaration, his Lordship stated the objections to which he conceived the motion before the House was liable. He insisted on its impolicy, as it pointed out to the enemy what was to be the future system of the war, and consequently directed them where to prepare for defence, or to plan their attacks, with the greatest advantage. He objected to the loose and general terms in which it was expressed. The motion declared, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual and injurious. The government of this country then was to have its hands tied up by sea and land.—Great Britain must not retain any posts in the colonies; for that would be considered as one mode of attempting to reduce the Americans to obedience by force. But was it not manifest, that there might be a necessity of retaining certain posts in America, for the convenience even of carrying on the war against France and Spain? His lordship added, that

though he totally disapproved of the motion proposed by the Hon. Baronet, yet he was willing to declare it to be his opinion, that it would not be wise nor right to go on with the American war as we had hitherto done; that is, to send armies to traverse from the south to the north of the provinces in their interior parts, as had been done in a late case, and which had failed of producing the intended and the desired effect.

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The motion was supported by Gen. Burgoyne, who observed, that declaring a design of maintaining posts in America, of the nature of New York, was declaring a design of offensive war; and that such a maintenance of posts would prove an improvident and a preposterous war. The great, if not the only purpose of keeping places of arms upon an enemy's coast, and especially upon a continent, must be for offensive war. But New York, as a place of arms, could answer no possible purpose but to feed an impracticable war, to become a nest-egg for more millions in the extraordinary expenses of the army, and to multiply that system of contracts, loans, and influence, which, after having operated to the loss of every dependence of the country, was ready to give the final blow to the last remain of property and liberty in the country itself. The General added, that he had not hitherto touched upon the principle of the American war. The impracticability of it was a sufficient justification for supporting the present motion. But he was now convinced, that the principle of the American war was wrong, tho' he had not been of that opinion when he formerly engaged in the service in America. He was likewise now convinced, upon comparing the conduct of the ministry, as time had developed their system, that the American war formed only a part of a general design levelled against the constitution of this country, and the general rights of mankind.

Colonel Barre said, the arguments used on the other side of the House, and the estimates, were delusive and imposing. The estimates for the plantations were for 6000 odd hundreds fewer soldiers than for the last year; but then the numbers for garrisons were 10,000 more, and for the East Indies about 9000. Now, as the executive power have an undoubted right to order the forces wherever they think proper, there was no security that the American war should not be carried on to the full extent that it had been for years past, without such a resolution as had been proposed. The esti-

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mates were most scandalous : They gave us an army on paper, the half of which we had never been able to find in actual service ; nay, it never had existed ; and tho' millions upon millions had been voted for those soldiers on paper, those non-entities, yet no account had ever been given of the expenditure. The nation, said he, should endeavour to cherish and unite all that remained of our empire. The people of Ireland, that glorious people he must call them, who had so nobly armed in their own defence, ought to be taken into our bosom, and all their grievances redressed. They had pointed out to us what we ought to do. Every man in the nation ought to be in arms ; and then all hirelings, whether soldiers or seamen, should be sent on board our fleets, where they ought to be, in order to restore the honour of their country's flag, or, like true Englishmen, seek a grave in that element which used to be the theatre of their glory. The cabinet should be thrown open, and men of all parties should be called to it ; not upon a narrow change of system, but upon a liberal plan, looking out for the men best qualified to serve this country ; like Lord Chatham, who, by a coalition of all the greatest men in the state, destroyed faction, and, standing on the basis of a great and glorious unanimity, shook the world around.

Mr Fox spoke in favour of the motion ; and pressed the House not to depend on the part of a speech of a minister, but to pin the noble lord down to a resolution.

The Lord Advocate declared he should have voted against the noble lord in the blue ribbon, had he not explicitly declared the intention of government to alter the mode of the war entirely. The Lord Advocate openly avowed to the House, that his sentiments respecting the war had been very different formerly, but declared, that fatal experience had convinced him of its impracticability, unless the mode of conducting it was wholly changed.

Lord George Germain said, as he considered the motion as amounting to a resolution to abandon the American war altogether, he made no scruple to avow, that if the House came into it, he would immediately retire ; for, be the consequence what it might, he never would be the minister to sign any instrument which gave independence to America, because he was determined from principle to leave the people their country—(Mr Byng said hastily across the House, *You'll leave us no country.*) Lord George complained of the interruption, and said, " If the Hon. Gentle-



man thinks himself warranted so to do, let him im-  
peach me ! I am not conscious of having ever inten-  
tionally, in any one instance, done wrong since I  
have held my situation ; but I wish most heartily, that  
if a change of ministers is aimed at, and thought ne-  
cessary, it may be done in the true constitutional way.  
Don't call the people together without doors, and tell  
them, that ministers ought to be changed ; but let this  
House, with the dignity becoming its character and  
its true importance, adopt at once the constitutional  
measure.—Let them address the throne upon it ; and  
every gentleman present knows the purpose cannot  
fail of being answered.”

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Several other members spoke ; and the House ha-  
ving divided at two o'clock in the morning, Sir James  
Lowther's motion was rejected by a majority of 220  
to 179.

The number of those who had usually supported  
the minister, but who voted against him on the pre-  
sent occasion, were supposed to have amounted near-  
ly to 20. Though this defection was not in itself of  
sufficient magnitude to be attended with any imme-  
diate bad effect to the existence of administration, yet  
other symptoms appeared, which seemed to threaten it  
with the most fatal consequences. The total want of  
union and concert in the cabinet, the great diversity  
of opinion which prevailed amongst the servants of  
the crown, and which they were no longer able to  
conceal, occasioned, amongst all descriptions of people,  
a very great and universal alarm.

It was also remarked in this debate, that the mem-  
bers who, though joined to the great body of the  
Whigs, were supposed to act more immediately in  
concurrence with the Earl of Shelburne, expressed  
themselves upon the subject of the continuance of the  
war in America with great caution and reserve. The  
question of independence having also unavoidably risen  
in the course of the day, Mr Dunning declared it to  
be his opinion, that the person who should propose an  
avowal of it in favour of America, would be guilty  
of a crime little short of high treason.

The late hour to which the debate on the 12th had Army esti-  
mates, been protracted, made it necessary to defer proceeding  
on the business of the army estimates till the follow-  
ing Friday, when the subject of the American war  
underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of  
the session, a long and vehement discussion. The  
Secretary at War informed the House, that the whole  
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 XXXIII. dom, required for the service of the year 1782, would  
 1781. amount to 186,220 men, and for this force the Par-  
 liament had to provide. The sum required for these  
 troops, for pay, cloathing, and other articles, amount-  
 ed to 4,220,000 l. This military force exceeded that  
 of the last year by 4074 men; and the expence was  
 consequently greater by 29,067 l. 15 s. This increase  
 was occasioned by the greater number of troops al-  
 ready sent, or then going to the East Indies. But  
 the expence of those troops was to be reimbursed by  
 the East India Company.

After some farther statements relative to the military  
 force of the kingdom, and its expence, had been made  
 by the Secretary at War, Colonel Barre rose and with  
 great vehemence declared, that the estimates of the  
 army which were laid before that House were scanda-  
 lous and evasive. There were a much greater num-  
 ber of non-effective men than were stated in the esti-  
 mates. In fact, they amounted to a fifth part of the  
 army. The House should also recollect, that the esti-  
 mates lying on the table did not compose the whole of  
 the expences of the army; for extraordinaries of se-  
 veral millions were yet to come. Neither were the  
 men, under the several descriptions given by the Se-  
 cretary at War, the whole number of military force  
 in our pay. Other troops wer employed solely at the  
 discretion of the minister, and paid irregularly and  
 unconstitutionally, without the assent or knowledge of  
 the legislature. These were the provincial corps in  
 America, amounting to 9000 men in actual service,  
 the statement of which force, though it had been call-  
 ed for from year to year, was never brought into the  
 estimates. But it was the duty of that House peremp-  
 torily to insist, that the estimates of the provincials  
 should be laid upon the table, with those of other re-  
 giments in the service of his Majesty. The precedent  
 was alarming to the extreme; and he should always  
 reprobate the levying of an army by modes so manifest-  
 ly repugnant to the principles of the constitution.

Mr Hussey objected particularly to the independent  
 companies. The measure, though it might be œcon-  
 omical, impeded the preferment of meritorious officers.

Mr Fox maintained, that ministers were still out of  
 their senses; and no two of them thought alike; or  
 rather that, speaking different opinions, they still were  
 of one mind;—and that was, for carrying on the  
 American war. One Noble Lord had spoken out.

The other pretended, that the war, as lately carried on, was renounced; but this meant nothing; or, if any thing, it meant that the war should be pursued. He recollected very well, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon being asked four years ago, if he meant still to carry on the war? replied, "Not in the same manner; we must contract the scale, and pursue it on narrower grounds." This was exactly the present language of the noble Lord; "he will not carry it on in the same manner as he did under Lord Cornwallis." He renounced the war in the same language four years ago, but had continued to carry it on: his language was still the same; and the same consequences would probably ensue.

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Lord North rose to explain himself, and said just what he said on Wednesday, that he renounced an inland continental war in America, and that all the war he thought it would be proper to wage, would be in defence of our posts there, which it was by no means his wish to give up.

General Conway could not comprehend the meaning of the noble Lord's declaration; he was not in the least satisfied; he wished the American war to be abandoned altogether; he would even submit to the independence of America. Speaking of the capitulation of Yorktown, he said, the article by which Lord Cornwallis gave up to halts the companions of his arms, was a stain never to be worn out; an act unparalleled in the annals of the world: the poor Americans, who had fought and bled for us, had been delivered up to gibbets and executioners. He knew the gallantry and humanity of Lord Cornwallis too well not to be convinced, that if his men had not refused to stand by him in the generous resolution, he would have perished fighting, sooner than capitulate upon terms which, if he was not excused by extreme necessity, would have damned his reputation.

In the course of this debate, even the Paymaster of the Forces (Mr Rigby) declared his conviction of the total impracticability of subduing the Americans by force.

Sir George Saville whimsically compared the ministers resolving not to carry on the war in the same manner as usual, to the Lacedemonian, who in a fight laying hold of an enemy's galley, had his hand cut off; he seized it then with his other hand, which was also cut off. His friend then said, "Sure you will not lay hold of the galley any more!" "No," replied he, "not the same

CHAP. way." But he caught a part of the galley between his  
 XXXIII. teeth, and held till his head was struck off. Ministers,  
 he feared, would shew us the second scene of the same  
 1781. tragedy in America.

Upon a division, the question was carried in favour of Ministry by 166 to 84. The Secretary at War then moved all his resolutions for the army, which were agreed to without any further opposition.

Exchange  
 of prison-  
 ers.

On the 17th of same month, a motion was made by Mr Burke concerning abuses relative to the exchange of prisoners with America, in which General Burgoyne's case, as well as that of Mr Laurens, late President of the American Congress, was particularly considered, and an exchange of the one for the other proposed, in consequence of a letter from Dr Franklin empowering him to make the proposition. He also proposed a bill for regulating exchanges of prisoners; but the admission of Mr Laurens soon after to bail, and the exchange of General Burgoyne, rendered the introduction of this regulation bill altogether needless.

Postpon-  
 ing land  
 and malt  
 tax, bills.

In the House of Lords, the ordinary business of government was suffered to proceed without any opposition till the day appointed for passing the malt and land-tax bills, Dec. 19. when the Marquis of Rockingham moved, that the third reading of the bills should be deferred till the first Wednesday after the recess. He prefaced this motion by declaring, that a recent public calamity, the retreat of the fleet under Admiral Kempenfelt, had brought him down that day to the house; that he came without consultation with any person whatever, and with the expectation that he should probably not meet with a single peer who would unite in opinion with him; but that he was neither to be deterred from the faithful discharge of his duty by superiority of numbers, nor disheartened by the thin attendance of his friends. He then entered into a concise but comprehensive detail of the state of the nation, and urged from thence the necessity of coming to some immediate and decisive measures, for saving what remained of the empire from the irretrievable ruin, towards which it was rapidly verging.

After a speech of considerable length, which was delivered with an unusual exertion of voice, and a flow of genuine eloquence, he concluded with calling on the noble lords present, to join him in delaying for a few days the granting of the proposed supplies, in order that in a fuller assembly, and after a more mature deliberation, they might be better able to judge

how far it was prudent to entrust any longer the expenditure of the public money to persons, whose gross misconduct was every day the cause of accumulating misfortunes on the country.

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Lords Stormont, Westmorland, and Sandwich, spoke against the Marquis's amendment; and the Duke of Chandos and Lord Chedworth for it; but it was negatived without a division, and the main question afterwards agreed to. The House next day adjourned.

Adjournment.

A debate upon the same subject took place in the House of Commons, December 20. Upon a motion being made to adjourn, Mr Byng proposed an inquiry into the conduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty; but, after a long debate, it shared the same fate with the Marquis of Rockingham's motion in the House of Peers. After which the House adjourned to January 21.

The first debate of any consequence which took place in the House of Commons, after the Christmas recess, was occasioned by a motion made by Mr Fox, on the 23d of January 1782, "That it should be referred to a committee, to inquire into the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval forces during the war, and more particularly in the year 1781." In support of this motion, it was urged by that gentleman, that the measures of the First Lord of the Admiralty had been, in almost every particular, liable to the charge of either neglect, ignorance, or want of policy. Our naval armaments were always too late for the purposes they were intended to serve; and the Earl of Sandwich had uniformly neglected to send fleets, at the opening of the several campaigns, to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish squadrons; nor had he, at the conclusion of those campaigns, made any attempts to attack or to annoy their separated force. The confederated fleets, amounting to sixty sail of the line, under the Count d'Orvilliers, had appeared in the Channel, with every mark of triumph, for two campaigns, not only unresisted, but even thinned by our naval armaments. The Chevalier de Ternay had also been suffered to proceed unmolested with his ships to America, when he transported thither those French troops which afterwards served under General Washington, and assisted in the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army. Captain Moutray, and the large fleet of East and West Indiamen under his convoy, had been betrayed into the hands of the enemy, by being directed to repair to

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Mr Fox's motion on the want of success of by sea.

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Madeira; whereby they were of necessity obliged to proceed in that tract which could not fail to conduct them to the naval armaments of the enemy. Indeed, the First Lord of the Admiralty had acted uniformly as the ally and servant of the house of Bourbon; and so had the rest of his Majesty's ministers; without whose aid, the wisdom of a Franklin, the valour and the prudence of a Maurepas, the vigilance of a Sartine, the craft of a De Caillres, the policy of America, and all the vigour and resources of France and Spain, though doubly formidable from their confederacy with Holland, could never have attained the power of overwhelming our once invincible dominions with so much disgrace and calamity.

The conduct of Lord Sandwich was very warmly defended by Lords Mulgrave, North, Nugent, Captain Luttrell, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the first of whom spoke at great length; and the motion was supported by Lord Howe, General Conway, Sir Horace Mann, Mr William Pitt, and Mr Webb. After a long debate, the Committee divided, when there appeared for Mr Fox's motion, 183; against it, 205.

Lord Geo.  
Germain's  
peerage.

Whilst the conduct of the First Lord of the Admiralty was undergoing this severe scrutiny in the House of Commons, a more personal attack was made in the House of Lords upon another of his Majesty's ministers. A strong report had for some days past prevailed, that in consequence, as was generally supposed, of some difference in opinion with the rest of the cabinet, relative to the change of measures, which the court found itself under the necessity of adopting, with respect to the American war, the secretary of state for the plantations was to resign his employment, and, as a mark of the royal approbation of his ministerial conduct, to be advanced to the peerage.

On the ground of this report, the Marquis of Carmarthen, on the eighth of February, after a short speech, in which he endeavoured to obviate the objections to which he foresaw his motion would be liable, from its appearing to trench on the prerogative of the crown, and to clear himself from the imputation of acting on any political, or from any personal or invidious motive whatever, moved the following resolution:—"That it is derogatory to the honour of this house, that any person labouring under the censure of a court-martial for disobedience of orders, and declared unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever, which sentence his Majesty was pleased to confirm, should be

recommended to the crown, to be raised to the dignity of a peerage.”

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After a warm debate, the motion was rejected, by the question for adjournment being carried, upon a division, by a majority of 75 to 28.

Such, however, was the detestation of ministry, and the aversion shown to the promoting Lord George Germain to the dignity of peerage, that, on the 18th, after his actual investiture, and when he had taken his seat in the house under the title of Lord Viscount Sackville, a second debate ensued relative to the dishonour the Peers had sustained by his admission into their house. The motion on this occasion was brought forward by the Marquis of Carmarthen, and expressed nearly in the same words with the former. The Marquis urged, that the House of Peers being a court of honour, it behoved them most carefully to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to endeavour to mark out, as forcibly as possible, the disapprobation which they felt at receiving into their assembly, as a brother peer, a person stigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the service.

The earl of Abingdon observed, that he could not help conceiving, that although there was not a right of election, there was and must be a right of exclusion vested in that house, when the admission of any peer happened to be against the sense of their lordships. His judgment of this arose not only from the idea, that the house was possessed of original rights, as independent of the crown as of the people; but from the circumstance of that house being the hereditary counsellors of the crown, against the sense of whom, he held, the crown could not of right exert itself.

Lord Sackville stood forward the first in his own defence. To bestow honours, he said, was the peculiar and indisputable prerogative of the crown, where the persons upon whom those honours were bestowed, were competent to receive them. Would any noble lord venture to maintain, that the sentence of a court-martial could amount to a legal disqualification from acquiring any civil capacity whatever? This would be to make the sword superior to the law, and military rule to supersede the civil jurisdiction. His lordship reminded the house, that the sentence referred to in the motion had passed three-and-twenty years ago, under circumstances not very favourable to the impartiality or the equity of the court that sat upon him. As a proof of the just opinion that was entertained of the

CHAP. violence of the proceedings against him, he had been  
 XXXIII. brought into office five years afterwards, and called to  
 1782. the privy council. This he considered as a virtual re-  
 peal of the sentence of the court-martial. And would  
 their lordships, under such circumstances, at this distance  
 of time, and without having the whole of the case before  
 them, proceed to annex to the judgment of a military  
 court, the severest censure of a civil court of judica-  
 ture?

Lord Walsingham contended, that there was no in-  
 stance upon record in which that house had interposed  
 to restrain the exercise of the royal prerogative in the  
 exclusive right of creating peers. He instanced the  
 examples of Lord Bacon and Sir Robert Walpole, who  
 had each been convicted of civil crimes, and yet had  
 been subsequently called to a seat in that assembly.

The duke of Richmond observed, that, from the  
 reign of Edward III. to the time of Henry VIII. it was  
 expressly stated, in every new patent of the creation  
 of a peer, that such creation was made *with the consent  
 of parliament*; nor did a single instance occur, during  
 the whole of this period, of any title being granted  
 without the particular acquiescence of the house of  
 lords. The duke then adverted to the circumstances  
 which attended the behaviour of Lord Sackville at the  
 battle of Minden, an action in which his Grace was  
 himself present. He said, he could with much facility  
 have solved what all the witnesses were not able posi-  
 tively to determine. If, as he was summoned to appear  
 upon the trial, his deposition had been called for, he could  
 have proved, because he held all the while his watch  
 within his hand, and seldom ceased to look at it, that  
 the time lost when the noble Viscount delayed to ad-  
 vance, under pretence that, receiving such contra-  
 dictory orders, it was impossible for him to discover  
 whether he ought to advance with the *whole* cavalry,  
 or only with the *British* cavalry, was *one hour and a  
 half*, though the whole distance was only one mile and  
 a quarter.

Lord Stormont maintained, that there was no con-  
 troult of the king's prerogative in the creation of peers,  
 but legal disability.

To which the Marquis of Carmarthen replied, that  
 if this was the only rule and guide of the prerogative,  
 no objection could be made against the king's chimney-  
 sweep being created a peer.

The Marquis's motion was also vigorously supported  
 by the Earl of Derby and the Marquis of Rocking-



ham: but was opposed by Lord Walsingham, the Earl of Denbigh, Duke of Grafton, and the Lord Chancellor. It was however, rejected, by a majority of 93 against 28. But a protest was entered, signed by nine peers, in which the sentence, and the public orders, were particularly stated, and in which they declared, that they "could not look upon the raising to the peerage a person so circumstanced, in any other light, than as a measure fatal to the interests, as well as to the glory of the crown, and to the dignity of that house, insulting to the memory of the late sovereign, and likewise to every surviving branch of the illustrious house of Brunswick; repugnant to every principle of military discipline, and directly contrary to the maintenance of the honour of that house, and to that honour which has for ages been the glorious characteristic of the British nation, and which, as far as could depend on them, they found themselves called upon, not more by duty than inclination, to transmit pure and unaltered to posterity."

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The appointment of Mr Welbore Ellis to the office of secretary of state for the plantation department, vacant by the resignation of Lord Viscount Sackville, and of Lieutenant General Sir Guy Carleton to succeed the commander in chief of the forces in North America, having occasioned a general alarm amongst those who were persuaded that there still existed a secret and obstinate attachment in the court to the prosecution of the war against the colonies, it was resolved to make another attempt in the House of Commons, to bind up the hands of the executive government by a strong and explicit declaration of the opinion of parliament. With this view, General Conway on the 22d of February moved, that an address should be presented to his Majesty to "implore his majesty to listen to the advice of his Commons, that the war might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes, that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies."

Gen. Conway's motion for an address against the American war.

In the speech by which he introduced this motion, the General observed, that all hopes of success in the war, on the part of Great Britain, were now at an end. Notwithstanding the insidious representations that had been made of the state of affairs in America,

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the fact was, that not a single friend to the British government could be discovered, amongst the inhabitants of North America, from one end of the country to the other. He had however, received intelligence, from a person who lately arrived from America, that the people of that country, although in arms against us, were still anxious for the accomplishment of peace. He was also assured, that certain individuals, at no considerable distance, were empowered, on the part of the Congress, to treat with the ministers of Great Britain, for the attainment of so essential an object. These circumstances were not unknown to government; and a noble lord, who had lately retired from the office of secretary of state for the American department, had been particularly applied to on this interesting occasion. But as they had hitherto done nothing, it was indispensibly necessary that the parliament should interfere, and put an immediate end to a war so calamitous, so fatal, and so destructive.

The motion was seconded by Lord John Cavendish, and powerfully supported by Mr Burke, Mr Wilberforce, Mr T. Townsend, Mr Turner, Colonel Barré, Mr William Pitt, and Mr Fox. It was, however, vigorously opposed by Mr Welbore Ellis, Lord North, Mr Adam, Lord Sheffield, the Lord Advocate, and Mr Rigby. The debate lasted till two o'clock in the morning. All the arguments used on former occasions were recurred to on both sides of the house. Ministers continued to use the same vague and undetermined language as before. They had, however, still strength sufficient to gain their point, though only by a single vote; the motion being rejected by 194 to 193.

The event of this division was considered, by Opposition, as a complete victory over the minister on the subject of the American war; and, as a majority of the absent members were supposed to coincide with the former, Mr Fox immediately gave notice, that the question respecting the farther prosecution of the American war, would be brought before the House again in a few days. It was accordingly revived, in a somewhat different form, on the 27th of the same month. On that day a petition from the city of London was presented to the House, soliciting parliament to interpose in such a manner as should prevent any farther prosecution of the American war; after which General Conway moved, that it should be resolved, "That it was the opinion of that House, that the farther pro-

secution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, would be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity." The General introduced his motion by a most eloquent and animated speech, in which he combated all the objections, that had been urged on former occasions, by the other side of the house. It had been asserted, that it was unconstitutional for that house to interfere with its advice in matters which especially belonged to the executive branch of government. This position he positively condemned, both as repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, and totally unsupported by fact. He proved, from a regular series of precedents, down from the reign of Edward III. to the accession of his present Majesty, that Parliament had always been in the practice of interposing, with its advice, in matters of peace and war, of treaties and alliances, and even in the marriages of the royal family. Such interference had, indeed, sometimes been reprehended from the throne, as an improper intermeddling in state affairs; but Parliament, and particularly that house, had generally made its voice to be heard with authority and effect. The General urged other arguments in support of his motion, which was seconded by Lord Althorpe; and petitions from the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the city of Bristol, and from the merchants, tradesmen, and inhabitants of that city, against the American war, were read.

In order to evade coming to any immediate determination on the question, a proposition was made by Mr Wallace, the attorney-general, that a truce should be entered into with America; and that a bill should be prepared to enable his Majesty's ministers to treat on this ground; and, under the pretence of allowing time for this measure, he moved, "that the present debate should be adjourned for a fortnight." The House divided upon this motion, when there appeared for it 215, and against it 234; so that there was a majority of 19 against the ministry. The original mo-

CHAP. tion of General Conway was then put, and carried  
XXXIII. without a division.

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The General immediately followed up his first motion with another, for an address to the King, in which the American war was spoken of precisely in the same terms made use of in the motion, and in which his Majesty was solicited to put a stop to any farther prosecution of offensive war against the colonies. This motion was agreed to, and it was also resolved, that the address should be presented to his Majesty by the whole House. It was accordingly presented on the 1st of March, when his Majesty returned an answer, in which he declared, "That the House of Commons might be assured, that, in pursuance of their advice, he should take such measures as should appear to him to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that his efforts should be directed, in the most effectual manner, against our European enemies, until such a peace could be obtained, as should consist with the interests and permanent welfare of his kingdoms."

Resolu-  
tion to con-  
sider as  
enemies  
those who  
advised  
the fur-  
ther pro-  
secution of  
that war.

General Conway, not perfectly satisfied with the expressions used in the answer ministers advised his Majesty to return the address, rose again to observe, that in that answer all references to offensive war was cautiously avoided. The House was only informed, in general terms, that he should take such measures as might appear to him most conducive to the restoration of peace; but the House had no reason to suppose, but that a more vigorous prosecution of the war might be one of these measures. He therefore thought it necessary to move, that it should be resolved "That, after the solemn declaration of the opinion of that House, in their humble address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and his Majesty's assurance of his gracious intention, in pursuance of their advice, to take such measures as should appear to his Majesty to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both, that House would consider as enemies to his Majesty, and this country, all those who should endeavour to frustrate his Majesty's paternal care for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by means attempting, the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies, to obedience by force." The mo-

tion was seconded by Lord Althorpe; and, after a feeble opposition from ministry, was suffered to pass without a division.

The following day a motion was made by the Attorney-general, "for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America." The motion was ridiculed by Mr Fox, on account of the quarter from whence it came; but no serious opposition was made to it.

Whilst these great and important questions were agitating in the Commons, the conduct of government, with respect to the late campaign in North-America, underwent a strict and severe scrutiny in a Committee of the Lords. On the 6th of the month, after a number of papers had been read, relative to the surrender of Earl Cornwallis and the army under his command, the two following motions were made by the duke of Chandos. First, "That it was the opinion of that House, that the immediate cause of the capture of the army under Earl Cornwallis, in Virginia, appeared to have been the want of a sufficient naval force to cover and protect the same." Secondly, "That the not covering and protecting the army under Earl Cornwallis, in a proper manner, was highly blameable in those who advised and planned the expedition." After some debate, the motions were rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 72 to 37.

Notwithstanding the majority which had lately appeared against the ministry in the House of Commons, and the pernicious consequences which had attended their measures, they still discovered a great unwillingness to retire from power; and the first Lord of the Treasury in particular, seemed determined not to resign, till he should be compelled to it by the most absolute necessity. The members of the opposition, however, continued to employ the most vigorous efforts, in order to effectuate a change of administration. On the 8th of March, several motions were made in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish, one of which was, "That the chief cause of all the national misfortunes is want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's ministers."

The motion was seconded by Mr Powys; and after a debate of considerable length, the House divided on the motion for the order of the day; when the numbers for it appeared to be 226, and against it 216; so

CHAP. that, on this occasion, there was a majority of ten in  
XXXIII. favour of administration.

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The unpopularity of Lord North, however, was now further augmented by his proposal of some new taxes; particularly that on soap, the carriage of goods, and places of public entertainment; all of which were finally rejected by the House.

Motion a-  
gainst mi-  
nistery by  
Sir John  
Rous:

The interval between the 8th and 15th was generally supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the party in opposition; and as Lord North still seemed averse to resign; on the latter day a motion was made by Sir John Rous, and seconded by the younger Lord George Cavendish, the design of which was to accelerate a change of administration. After reciting the facts contained in the resolutions moved on the 8th, it was proposed to resolve, "That, on consideration thereof, the House could have no farther confidence in the ministers who had the directions of public affairs." In the debate, the necessity of some new arrangement in the administration of public affairs was no longer denied; but the impolicy, and even the danger of throwing the country entirely into the hands of any party, was still strongly contended. A coalition was loudly called for by many moderate and independent members, and the propriety of leaving the noble Lord at the head of the treasury in possession of his office, till such a measure could be accomplished, was much insisted on.

On the other side, it was urged, that the bait of a coalition had been thrown out by the court merely for the purpose of delay, and giving room for intrigue and cabal; and that, in order to secure to the nation the advantages which it was now universally admitted would arise from a total change in the public councils, it was necessary not to relax, for a moment, the vigorous pursuits of such measures, as could not fail of being speedily crowned with success.

A long debate ensued, which was remarkable for an argument respecting the American controversy, perfectly original, and unprecedented in all that had been said or written on that subject. Sir James Marriot informed the House, that though it had been frequently pretended, that the inhabitants of the colonies were not represented in the British Parliament, yet the fact was otherwise; for they were actually represented. The first colonization, by national and sovereign authority, he remarked, was the establishment of the colony of Virginia. The grants and charters made of those

lands, and of all the subsequent colonies, were of one tenure, and expressed in the following terms: "To have and to hold of the king or queen's majesty, as part and parcel of the manor of East Greenwich, within the county of Kent, *reddendum*, a certain rent at our castle of East Greenwich, &c." So that the inhabitants of America were, in fact, by the nature of their tenure, represented in Parliament by the knights of the shire for the county of Kent. This curious legal discovery, that the American colonies were *part* and *parcel* of the *manor of East Greenwich*, though delivered by the learned judge with all proper gravity and solemnity, yet excited so much merriment in the House, that it was with great difficulty, for some time, that the Speaker could preserve any kind of order.

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Lord North endeavored to vindicate his own administration. He affirmed, that it could not be declared with truth, by that House, that the loss of the American colonies, or of the West India islands, or our other national calamities, originated from the measures of the present administration. The repeal of the American stamp-act, and the passing of the declaratory law, took place before his entrance into office. As a private member of parliament, he gave his vote in favour of both; but, as a minister, he was not responsible for either.—The House at length divided upon the question, when there appeared for it 227, and against it 236: so that there was a majority of nine in favour of administration.

Notwithstanding this seemingly favourable determination, it was so well known that the ministry could not stand their ground, that four days after, a similar motion to that made by Sir John Rous, was to have been made by the Earl of Surrey; but when his lordship was about to rise for that purpose, Lord North addressed himself to the Speaker, and observed, that as he understood the motion to be made by the noble earl was similar to that made a few days before, and the object of which was the removal of the ministers, he had such information to communicate to the House, as must, he conceived, render any such motion now unnecessary. He could with authority assure the House, that his Majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers. Indeed, those persons, who had for some time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his Majesty's ministers. They were not now to be considered as men holding the reins of government, and transacting measures of state, but mere-

Ministry  
resign.

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New mi-  
nisty.

ly remaining to do their official duty, till other ministers were appointed to take their places. The sooner those new ministers were appointed, his lordship declared, that, in his opinion, the better it would be for the public business, and the general interests of the nation. He returned thanks to the House for the many instances of favour and indulgence which he had received from them, during the course of his administration; and he declared, that he considered himself as responsible, in all senses of the word, for every circumstance of his ministerial conduct, and that he should be ready to answer to his country, whenever he should be called upon for that purpose.

During the adjournment, a new administration was formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham; a nobleman on whose public principles, as well as private honour and virtue, the nation seemed to repose, after the violent struggle by which it had been agitated, with the securest and most implicit confidence. The cabinet, including the marquis himself <sup>a</sup>, as First Commissioner of the Treasury, was composed of the Earl of Shelburne <sup>b</sup>, and Mr. Fox <sup>c</sup>, who were appointed Secretaries of State; Lord Camden <sup>d</sup>, President of the Council; Duke of Grafton <sup>e</sup>, Privy Seal; Lord John Cavendish <sup>f</sup>, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Admiral Keppel <sup>g</sup>, who was also created a Viscount, First Commissioner of the Admiralty; General Conway <sup>h</sup>, Commander in Chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond <sup>i</sup>, Master General of the Ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of Lord High Chancellor; and Mr. Dunning <sup>k</sup>, created baron of Ashburton, and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Other offices and honours were likewise conferred on different members of the opposition; among others, Mr Isaac Barre <sup>l</sup> was made Treasurer of his Majesty's navy; Right Hon. Thomas Townsend <sup>m</sup>, Secretary at war; Right Hon. Edmund Burke <sup>n</sup>, Receiver, and Paymaster-general of the forces; Duke of Portland <sup>o</sup>, Lord Lieutenant, and General John Burgoyne <sup>p</sup>, Commander in Chief in Ireland; Duke of Manchester <sup>q</sup>, Lord Chamberlain; Earl of Effingham <sup>r</sup>, Treasurer; and Earl of Ludlow <sup>s</sup>, Comptroller of his Majesty's

In the room of { <sup>a</sup> Lord North, <sup>g</sup> Earl of Sandwich, <sup>n</sup> Rich. Rigby, Esq.  
<sup>b</sup> E. of Hillsborough, <sup>h</sup> Lord Amherst, <sup>o</sup> Earl of Carlisle,  
<sup>c</sup> Visc. Stormont, <sup>i</sup> Visc. Townshend, <sup>p</sup> Sir John Irwin,  
<sup>d</sup> Earl Bathurst, <sup>k</sup> Earl of Clarendon, <sup>q</sup> Earl of Hertford,  
<sup>e</sup> Earl of Dartmouth, <sup>l</sup> Vacant, <sup>r</sup> Earl of Salisbury,  
<sup>f</sup> Lord North, <sup>m</sup> Ch. Jenkinson, Esq. <sup>s</sup> Sir Rich. Wortley



Household. Sir Fletcher Norton was at the same time raised to the Peerage, by the stile and title of Lord Grantley. CHAP.  
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Of some of the circumstances which preceded this great event, we have already given an account; but the private negotiations with the sovereign, relative to the arrangements of the new ministry, were naturally of so secret a nature, and have been so variously reported, that of these transactions we cannot attempt to give a minute or particular narration. It is supposed that the great personage, whose concurrence was necessary in this important political revolution, experienced no ordinary degree of agitation of mind, on being in a manner compelled to make so total a change in his councils. For it is understood, that, on this occasion, the leading members of opposition were united together with great firmness, and would agree to no coalition with any of the opposite party, excepting only with the noble Lord who was invested with the office of Chancellor of the kingdom. So many men of distinguished abilities, and who professed such public spirited principles, had never before been united in administration. They came into power, indeed, at a period when the nation was in a situation extremely calamitous, difficult, and dangerous; but, at all events, such a ministry, if they continued united, could not but be productive of signal advantages to the nation. The public measures, for which the new minister was said to have stipulated with the court, before he would consent to enter into any negotiation for office, were these:—1. Peace with the Americans, and the acknowledgment of their independence not to be a bar to the attainment of that object:—2. A substantial reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, on the plan proposed by Mr. Burke:—3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from seats in Parliament, and disqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members, were included.

The new arrangement having been announced to the House, and the writs moved for such gentlemen as had vacated their seats, by accepting office, the House adjourned on account of the ensuing holidays, without proceeding to any other business.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Distresses of Ireland—Relief proposed in Parliament—Refusal highly resented by the Irish, who enter into military associations—Lord Shelburne's motion to censure ministers—Lord North's propositions for the relief of Ireland—Irish still dissatisfied—Mr. Grattan's motions in favour of Ireland—Resolutions of the Volunteers at Dungannon—Mr Eden's motion in favour of Ireland—Message from the King—Irish Parliament, on a motion of Mr Grattan, declare themselves independent of that of Britain—Vote 20,000 seamen, also 50,000*l.* to Mr Grattan.*

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Distresses  
of Ireland  
during the  
American  
war.

ON the 8th of April, being the first day of the meeting of Parliament after the recess, the affairs of Ireland were unexpectedly brought before the House of Commons by Mr Eden, who, having been Secretary to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, was just arrived from thence with his resignation of the Vice-royalty. Before, however, we enter upon what passed on that occasion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the political state of that country for some years previous to this period, in order that the causes of the discontents, and jealousies which prevailed among that people may be properly understood.

During the long period of the American war, though perhaps the enemy had suffered much more than ourselves, yet the many disasters which had be-

fallen the trading part of Great Britain, were too obvious and too fatal in their consequences to be palliated. Great as these were, however, they were most sensibly felt by the Irish, whose distresses were now augmented to a most alarming pitch, and that by other causes than merely the losses immediately sustained, and proceeding directly from the American war. Besides the ancient restraints on the commerce of that kingdom, an embargo had been laid on the trade of Ireland ever since the year 1776; by which their staple commodities of beef and butter were shut up and perishing in their warehouses, at the same time that their only free and valuable manufacture, that of linen, was grievously reduced through want of the American market.

These grievances became so intolerable, and the complaints of the Irish so loud, that Parliament at last thought proper to take them into consideration. The embargo upon salted beef and butter had been laid on with a view to prevent the French from benefiting themselves by the Irish market, and supplying their ships with provisions at an easy rate. It was now, however, urged, with great appearance of reason, that no useful consequence whatever had attended this measure; as it could not be made apparent that the French armaments had been laid aside, or even deferred, on account of the want of Irish provisions; and their West India Islands were so far from being ruined on that account, that it was well known they were supplied with many articles upon as good terms as our own islands. On the other hand, it could not but be seen with concern, that the northern parts of Germany, and countries adjacent to the Baltic, were grasping at the trade which was now slipping out of the hands of the Irish. Hitherto, indeed, they were very deficient in point of skill; so that though they spared neither expence nor labour in procuring salt for the purpose of curing, and proper persons to instruct them in the method of applying it, yet the samples they had produced in the West India market were far inferior to the same commodity from Ireland. The attempt, however, was very alarming; and the lowness of rents, and cheapness of cattle in these countries, affording them great advantages, it could not be doubted that they would soon improve in the art both of feeding and curing; and it is well known, what difficulty attends the recovery of a branch of trade when once it is lost. The discontent was, at the same time, inflamed by a supposition, whether right or

Relief  
proposed  
in Parlia-  
ment.

CHAP. wrong, that all this mischief was occasioned by the  
 XXXIV. partiality of the ministry, who wanted to throw vast  
 1732. sums into the hands of a few favourite contractors,  
 without regarding the inconveniencies or distresses  
 which might thus befall the rest of the nation.

This general dissatisfaction was likewise encreased by several other circumstances. For thirty years past the rent of lands in Ireland had been gradually on the increase; and though this rise in the rents had been generally supported by the market prices, yet it was generally supposed, that competition and the spirit of speculation, which had lately produced such pernicious effects in both kingdoms, had a considerable share in the rise: and as the speculations failed, and of consequence the competition, lands fell, the land-owner was distressed, the farmer ruined, and a general failure of all credit ensued.

In such unhappy circumstances, the populace, who in that country constitute the majority of the inhabitants, were rendered destitute of employment, and consequently of the necessaries of life; nor were the most liberal and charitable subscriptions, even to the supporting of 20,000 poor in the city of Dublin only, able to counteract the mischief which had taken so deep a root. Their situation was now so claimant, that even ministers themselves were at length convinced of the necessity of paying some attention to it; and Earl Nugent having, on the 2d April 1778, moved several resolutions for removing certain restrictions on their trade, Lord North seemed disposed to favour them, though nothing effectual was done at the time. About the latter end of the same year, therefore, the Irish affairs were again mentioned in Parliament. Several members who derived their titles from that kingdom, and whose fortunes lay principally there, stated, in strong colours, the distresses of the people, and the absolute necessity there was of affording them speedy and substantial relief, which, they said, could only be done effectually by removing those impolitic restrictions on their trade, which originated from the narrow spirit of monopoly operating upon mistaken notions of all true commercial principles; these restrictions being in reality as contrary to the real interests of this country as they were absolutely ruinous to Ireland. They accordingly gave notice, that they would move, immediately after the holidays, for a bill or bills to grant commercial relief to that country.

In the debates which now ensued, the principal arguments in favour of Ireland were, That; leaving entirely out of the question all kind of liberality and justice, we were now compelled by absolute necessity to endeavour to unite all parts of the kingdom in one common bond of defence, which could only be done by a general communion of interests, and participation of benefits. No time was to be lost, as the experiment was too dangerous to risque the separation and disaffection of Ireland after what had happened in America. They said, that however great the loyalty and patience of Ireland had hitherto been, there were certain limits to those qualities of the human mind, beyond which they could not possibly be driven; and the attempt would undoubtedly be a matter of the utmost danger. It was, indeed, evident, that as soon as peace took place with America, if our oppression, and consequently the miseries of Ireland, should still continue, the people of that country would undoubtedly emigrate to America along with their arts, manufactures, and industry; and it was already too well known, that the American armies were principally recruited, and their best troops in a great measure composed of those unhappy emigrants from Ireland, who, being driven from their country by want and oppression, were compelled to take up arms in a quarrel in which they had no interest, and to shed the blood of their friends and brethren. The Irish also were said to be our best customers in many articles of our merchandise and manufactures; from that country we had long derived much additional strength and power; and she was capable of affording still greater advantages under a wise and liberal system of government. To justify their various assertions, they moved for various papers, by which it appeared, that the exports from England to Ireland amounted, on an average of ten years, only to 2,857,000*l.* annually; that the exports from Ireland into England, on an average of the same time, did not exceed 1,353,000*l.* annually; of consequence, the balance in favour of England exceeded seven millions sterling in that time, exclusive of the vast sums drawn from Ireland under the heads of rents to absentees, pensions, and the emoluments of places to those who never saw the country, &c. They also shewed that the decrease of the exports from England to Ireland during the two last years of calamity in that country, amounted on an average to no less than 716,000*l. per annum*; from whence they

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argued the prodigious loss to the revenue, as well as to trade and manufactures, which must proceed from a continuance and consequent increase of the distresses of that kingdom; and they concluded by asking, Whether a kingdom should be sacrificed to a single town, to the monopoly of a single district, or to the ill judged clamours of any body of manufacturers whatever?

On the other hand, it was urged, that the distresses of Ireland were not so great as they had been represented; but if the melancholy description were really true, it was not so much to be attributed to the trade-laws in this country, as to mal-administration in Ireland itself; to faults in the internal constitution of the kingdom and, a general mismanagement of their affairs; and, without remedying these in the first place, no substantial relief could be applied to the evil in question. The unhappy consequences of the American war, indeed, were severely felt in both countries: but Ireland bore no more than her share in the common calamity; our manufacturers were starving, and the plenty or cheapness of provisions could afford no relief to those who had not the means of purchasing them. However much therefore the sufferings of Ireland might attract our sympathy, those which were immediately within our knowledge must naturally do so much more: An Irish rebellion was no doubt much to be dreaded, but one at home was still a greater object of apprehension; and this was to the full as probable as the former, if any addition were made to the sufferings and grievances which our manufacturers already endured by a surrender of those advantages in trade which they considered as their birthright.

General  
account of  
the relief  
proposed.

The general outline of the proposals in favour of Ireland, though not specifically moved or applied for, amounted to a grant of a general exportation, excepting only with respect to her woollens; the establishment of a cotton manufactory under that right, with a liberty of trading to and from America, the West-Indies, and the coast of Africa. These concessions, however, were by the opposite party thought too extensive and alarming to the manufactures in this country; so that at last Lord Newhaven, on the 15th of February 1779, consented to give up the general outline, and confine himself to some specific proposition. He accordingly moved, on the 10th of March, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee to take into consideration the acts of parliament relating to the importation of sugars from the West Indies into Ireland. The object of this motion was, to repeal that clause in

the act of navigation, by which all ships laden with sugars were bound to bring their cargoes directly to England, from whence the quantity necessary for the Irish consumption was afterwards to be re-exported to Ireland. As the minister had still kept himself clear of the business, the question was fairly and coolly debated on both sides, without any other appearance of party than what merely arose from the locality of representation; and, after a full discussion, was carried by a majority of 47 to 42.

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In the mean time, the clamour without doors had been much fainter, and the opposition from the manufacturing districts weaker, than they had been in the preceding session, and than had been now expected. Glasgow and Manchester, however, petitioned; and the minister's late warm partizans in both, began now to accuse him of duplicity, which they charged to his present system of neutrality. This clamour and reproach suddenly brought him to a determination; and setting his face totally against the proposed relief, it was accordingly rejected upon a close division, the question being lost only by a majority of 62 to 58.

Such a decision was not likely to quiet the minds of a people already distressed beyond what they were able to bear. The restraints upon their trade, to which the Irish had been long accustomed, might perhaps have been passed over for ages without exciting any disturbance; but the embargo laid upon their staple commodities, as it operated in the most mischievous manner on the interests of the country, so it was in the highest degree resented as a new and lawless piece of oppression. It was represented in the Irish House of Commons as absolutely illegal; and its legality would have been brought to a full trial, had it not been for the unexpected death of a custom-house officer, who had seized a cargo fitted out on purpose to bring the merits of the cause to a decision. This embargo was said by some of the public writers at that time, to "have been sent as a curse, and to have operated as a pestilence." It was called a *Government job*, calculated merely to raise immense sums for a few ministerial adherents in England and Scotland, and the utmost indignation was expressed at sacrificing the interest of a whole nation to that of a set of rapacious contractors. At the same time it was complained, that during the present reign, a profuse and corrupt system of administration had taken place; that every article of public expenditure had been continually enhanced until the

Refusal of  
relief  
highly re-  
sented by  
the Irish.

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whole was swelled to a most enormous degree, far exceeding the standing revenues of the kingdom, as well as every example of the past expence.

In other respects the language of Ireland was much the same with that of America before the commencement of hostilities. The doctrines of taxation without representation, and unconditional submission, were said now to be extended to Ireland; and the chains forged for the colonies would, in case of a successful event to the war, afford a model for those which would soon be put upon themselves. The apprehensions on this account were augmented by some language used in the British parliament, in which the compliance of the colonies was urged from a comparison of the restrictions endured without murmuring by the Irish.

The complaints and petitions of the manufacturing towns in England and Scotland against any redress to Ireland, added new fuel to the flame. The pretended favour of granting leave to cultivate tobacco, and encouraging the culture of hemp, was considered as a piece of mockery, and an insult to the distresses of the kingdom; and when it was known that ministry had defeated an attempt to keep parliament sitting, in order to concert some plan of relief, the flame broke out with great violence. Associations against the use of British manufactures, and for the encouragement of their own in every possible manner, had taken place already in some parts of the country, though the greater part of the kingdom seemed still unwilling to come to such extremities. On the rejection of the relief plan, however, these associations became universal, and the non-importation and non-consumption agreements threatened soon to become no less dreadful in their consequences to those who had the courage to violate them, than they had been in America, as well as to those who refused to accede. Thus it was computed, that even in the weak state of their manufactures at that time, they would save, by a non-importation agreement, a full million sterling, which was annually sent to Great Britain; and this great saving they said, would afford compensation or redress for many of their grievances, and particularly would be the means of putting down the pride of Manchester and Glasgow; two towns, which, they said, had been constant and immense gainers by the Irish trade, and at the same time their most inveterate as well as most successful enemies in the present affair.

Military  
associa-  
tions begin  
to be for-  
med.

Along with these associations, others of a more formidable nature took place; which, though apparently



founded on the danger of a foreign invasion, would undoubtedly have become subservient at last to what was supposed to be the general welfare of the country. Military associations took place, and soon became universal; and these they openly declared to be destined for the double purpose of defending their natural rights against a foreign enemy, and their civil rights against domestic usurpation. They professed loyalty to the King of Britain, but it was such loyalty as was consistent with their own liberty and prosperity. Thus vast bodies of men appeared every where in arms, at their own expence, trained up to their military exercise with great expertness, and submitting with cheerfulness and regularity to the rules of discipline; at the same time that the utmost regularity was observed in point of behaviour; no disorder was heard of, nor were the laws ever better observed, or obedience to them more strictly enforced. Men of great fortune served in the ranks; and neither nobleman nor gentleman could shew his face in the country, who did not cheerfully fall in with the prevailing disposition of the people. The numbers who on this occasion arose in arms were variously computed, the lowest estimates making them 30,000, and the highest 60,000 men.

These associations proved sufficiently alarming and mortifying to the ministry, especially as no possibility appeared of putting a stop to them. They attempted, however, to regulate this force, and to bring it, if possible, to act under the direction of the crown; but these offers being rejected with scorn, they were constrained to supply them with arms for the purpose of defending the kingdom against a foreign invasion, though the quantity they allowed on this occasion was very inadequate to the purpose.

The Irish Volunteers, having thus received the sanction of government itself, soon provided for the defence of the kingdom against any external enemy; after which they began to consider their own claims and rights. In general, they declared the authority of the British parliament to be a gross usurpation; and, proceeding still farther, denied the validity of the mutiny act. This proceeded such a length, that scarce any magistrate could be found who would issue bills for the quarters of the troops; so that they were for some time confined to their stations; and it required the utmost prudence in the commanders on both sides to prevent the most fatal consequences from the opposition of two such formidable powers. In short, the

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whole kingdom of Ireland seemed to rise up as one man in order to obtain redress. A free and unlimited commerce with the whole world was what they required, and in place of which no advantage nor compensation could possibly be admitted; nor was this the work of a party, or of any particular class of men, but the unanimous voice of every rank and denomination, not only of Protestants, but Papists also; for, in imitation of the humane conduct of the British legislature, in repealing the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics, the Irish House of Commons had also repealed those against the Catholics in that country, by which means all apprehension and distrust on the one side, as well as envy and aversion on the other, seemed to vanish, and the whole kingdom was united in one common interest.

Such was the state of Ireland at the sitting down of the British parliament in the latter part of the year 1779; nor did opposition fail to point out in the most severe and pathetic manner the conduct of ministers who had reduced them to such a situation. Lord North in general allowed, that the country was distressed, and certainly entitled to relief, which he said should be granted as far as was reasonable. His promises on this head, however, were at first so vague and unsatisfactory that on the 1st of December 1779, Lord Shelburne made a motion for censuring administration on account of their behaviour in the Irish affairs. This he prefaced by shewing from the journals, that their address, which had been moved for by the marquis of Rockingham, and unanimously passed on the 11th of May last, had strongly recommended to his Majesty's most serious consideration, the distressed and impoverished state of that kingdom, at the same time requiring, that such documents relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland might be laid before them, as would enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual measures for the common interest of both kingdoms; and likewise, that the answer returned from the throne on the following day was entirely consonant to the ideas and requisition held out in the address. He then referred to the address which he himself had moved for, and which had been rejected by a great majority on the 2d of June following, which re-stated the necessity of giving speedy and effectual relief to Ireland, and offered the full co-operation of that house for the purpose; at the same time recommending that if the royal prerogative, as vested in the throne by the con-

Lord Shelburne's motion to censure ministers.

situation, was not adequate to the administering the relief wanted, his Majesty would be pleased to continue the sitting of parliament, and give immediate orders for calling the parliament of Ireland, that their just rights might be fully considered and remedied without delay. The situation and circumstances of the country, he said, were at that time singular. She had long maintained, for internal defence and security, a great military force, at an expence which exceeded her ability. Of this, contrary to royal faith and compact, she had been stripped for the support of the American war. In this state of weakness, she was known to be the marked object of hostile invasion from our powerful and inveterate enemies. On the other hand, as to the point of defence, the ministers told them plainly they must take care of themselves; they would spare them some arms; but as to protection, they acknowledged openly, and pleaded inability. Thus exposed, defenceless, and abandoned, Ireland was reduced to the simple alternative, of either perishing, or of finding the means of preservation within herself. With a peculiar magnanimity, the most divided people in the universe instantly forgot all their differences, and united as one man to ward off the impending destruction of their country. By this union, and exertion of native strength and spirit, all ideas of invasion were effectually erased from the designs of the enemy. But the Irish became sensible, at the same time of the respect due to that internal force which, until it was called forth, through the weakness of government, they were unconscious of possessing. The means were in their hands; and they seized the occasion with that spirit and wisdom, which shewed they were worthy of whatever advantages it was capable of affording. His Lordship concluded with moving a resolution, "That it is highly criminal in his Majesty's ministers to have neglected taking effectual means for the relief of the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the address of this House of the 11th of May, and of his Majesty's most gracious answer; and to have suffered the discontents of that country to rise to such an height, as evidently to endanger the constitutional connection between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarrassments to the public counsels, through division and diffidence, in a moment when real unanimity, grounded upon mutual confidence and affection, is confessedly essential to the preservation of what is left of the British empire."

The motion was supported by the Marquis of Rock-

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ingham, who said, that if any thing reasonable, however moderate, had been done, when he first moved the business, or if Parliament had been kept sitting, as proposed by his noble friend on the 2d June last, neither the associations, nor the non-importation agreements, would have ever assumed their present appearance, or existed in their present extent.

Earl Gower, who had lately resigned the office of President of the Council, said he should vote against the motion made by the Earl of Shelburne. The men who were the object of public censure had desired a few days to acquit themselves; and the dignity and wisdom of Parliament were interested in giving them the short time they asked, in order to their exculpation. Independently of that consideration, he was fully convinced that the charge of neglect urged against them was strictly true, though not yet evident. He had presided, he said, for some years at the council-table, and had seen such things pass at it of late, that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there.

The Duke of Richmond spoke in favour of Lord Shelburne's motion, and attributed all the national calamities to the overgrown power of the crown, and its influence upon Parliament; and particularly to that secret influence which had directed and controuled the counsels of the present reign.

In the course of this debate, several observations were made relative to an idea that had been thrown out, that the king was his own minister, and also that he was his own general. Lord Shelburne said, that it was actually reported with confidence, and he believed was universally understood to be true, that his Majesty, had the enemy attempted a landing, of which there were lately some apprehensions, meant to take upon himself the command of the army. It was likewise said, that the King was his own Secretary, and his own first Commissioner of the Admiralty. But his Lordship said, the King might as well be his own Chief Justice, and dispense law on the bench in Westminster Hall, as be his own General, Admiral, or Secretary. He could not act but through the medium of his ministers in their several departments. Those ministers who would permit his majesty to head his army, would take the risque upon themselves, and deserve impeachment. The well-known maxim, that "the King can do no wrong," was founded upon this clear doctrine of constitutional law; because the King, in contemplation of law, can do nothing without previous consultation and advice.

The motion was opposed by ministry, on the ground of want of proof to substantiate the charges on which the censure in the resolution was supposed to be founded. Great debates ensued as usual, and the motion was at length rejected by a majority of 82 to 37.

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In the House of Commons, however, the minister was continually pressed on the same subject. He was reminded of a general observation, so current without doors as to become almost proverbial, that ministry were constantly a day too late in all their measures; and that what should be done this day or this year, when fully practicable, was always deferred to the next, when it was either no longer practicable, or incapable of answering the purpose. Such, they said, had been the case with every step relative to America; and such undoubtedly would also be the case with Ireland, if measures were not speedily adopted for redressing those grievances so much and so justly complained of. These remonstrances, with the urgent necessity of public affairs, at last proved effectual. The minister gave notice, that in something more than a week, he would move for a committee of the whole House to enter upon the business; but, on being vehemently urged to some explanation of his intentions, he was at last obliged to confess, that the plan was not as yet finally agreed upon, and therefore could not be communicated.

On the 13th of Dec. 1779, however, he at length opened his propositions for relief to Ireland, which were, 1. To repeal those laws which prohibit the exportation of Irish manufactures made of and mixed with wool, or wool-flocks, from Ireland, to any part in Europe. 2. The repeal of so much of an act of 19. Geo. II. as prohibits the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom. 3. That Ireland be suffered to carry on a trade of export and import to and from the British colonies in America, the West-Indies, and the African settlements, subject, however, to such limitations and restrictions as the Parliament of Ireland should impose.

Lord  
North's  
proposi-  
tions for  
the relief  
of Ireland.

These resolutions were unanimously agreed to. Bills founded on the two first were instantly brought in and passed both Houses, and received the royal assent before the Christmas recess; but the third, being more complex in its nature, was suffered to lie over till after, not only to afford leisure for farther consideration in

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Irish still  
dissatisfi-  
ed.

Britain, but to give time for perceiving what effect the measure might have in Ireland.

These resolutions of the minister in favour of Ireland, would in all probability have given entire satisfaction to that nation, had they been made in proper time. But the spirit of the people was now roused; and nothing would satisfy them short of a free trade, and a free constitution. The military associations went forward in all parts of the kingdom, till at last their numbers became truly formidable and alarming. By the returns of the different volunteer corps, it appears, that the number raised in the province of Ulster was 34,152—Munster, 18,056—Connaught, 14,426—Leinster, 22,283—in whole, 88,918.—These were all properly armed, provided with 128 pieces of artillery, together with camp equipage for 15,000 men. The city of Dublin and its environs bore every appearance of being in a state of war. Every Sunday was a field-day. At six o'clock in the morning, the independent companies mustered at the 'Change, every man being furnished with provisions, powder, ball, &c. for the day. After being called over, they marched into the neighbouring fields, where prayers were read to them. They then separated into different bodies; and taking various routes, the rest of the morning was spent in marches, mock skirmishes, &c. till dinner-time. After repeating the same exercises in the afternoon, they returned in the evening with drums beating and colours flying to the 'Change, where they were dismissed from duty; the utmost decorum, regularity, and order being observed. Most of the counties and corporations instructed their representatives to vote for a free trade, and short mutiny-bill; and resolved, as magistrates and jurymen, not to give force to any British act of Parliament. At length the populace became so importunate, that they surrounded the members of Parliament as they went to the House, and compelled them to promise to vote accordingly.

It does not appear, however, that the Irish Parliament were disposed to go the lengths that their constituents expected; and it was but too evident, that such methods had been employed to influence the members of both houses, that the greater part of them did not seem disposed to promote those constitutional reformations, which the public at large were so anxious to obtain. When, on the 13th of November 1781, a motion was made by Mr Grattan, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and limit the mutiny act, it was rejected by

Mr Grattan's motion for a short mutiny bill.

a great majority; and, the following month, a similar motion being made in the house of Peers by Lord Arran, it was also rejected, though a very spirited protest was entered against the rejection by six peers.

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In consequence of this conduct of the parliament, the volunteer associations thought it necessary to give the most decisive evidence, that the people of Ireland were not to be trifled with by those who pretended to be their representatives. Accordingly, at a meeting of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers, held at Dunganon, on the 15th of February 1782, Colonel Sir John Irvine in the chair, it was resolved, "That a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance—that the powers exercised by the privy-councils of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poyning's, were unconstitutional and a grievance—that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration, from session to session, was unconstitutional and a grievance—that the ports of that country were, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. It having been asserted, that volunteers, as such, could not with propriety, debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or parliament men, they resolved, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not abandon any of his civil rights;"—and they declared, that it was their decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of the public grievances, and to use all constitutional means to make such their pursuit of redress speedy and effectual. They knew, they said, their duty to their sovereign, and were loyal; but they knew themselves, and were resolved to be free. They fought for their rights, and no more than their rights; and, in so just a pursuit, they should doubt the being of a Providence, if they doubted of success.

Resolutions of the Volunteers at Dunganon.

One of the most firm, vigorous, and eloquent assertors of the independence of the parliament of Ireland, was Mr Grattan, who had before exerted himself in opposition to the perpetual mutiny bill. That gentleman, a few days after the meeting of the representatives of the volunteers was held at Dunganon, moved, in the Irish House of Commons, a long and

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Mr Grat-  
tan's first  
motion for  
declaring  
the inde-  
pendence  
of Ireland.

Mr Eden's  
motion in  
favour of  
Ireland.

spirited address to his Majesty, declarative of the rights of Ireland, and asserting, "That no other power but the King, with the Lords and Commons of Ireland, were competent to make laws for Ireland, though the British Parliament had assumed such a power." This motion, after a long debate, was however rejected by a large majority.

Matters between Great Britain and Ireland were in this unsettled situation, at the time of Lord Carlisle's recall from the Lord-Lieutenancy of the latter kingdom, in which he was succeeded by the Duke of Portland, upon the late change of administration. In consequence of this event, Mr Eden, his Lordship's Secretary, having hastily come over to Britain, thought proper to bring the affairs of Ireland before Parliament, as formerly mentioned.—On this occasion, after taking a view of the political history of that kingdom during the two last years, Mr Eden acquainted the House with the measures which he said were then forming for rendering it totally independent of the British legislature, and concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 6th of George I. as asserted a right in the king and Parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland.

The precipitation with which a business of such magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the house, without previous communication with any of his Majesty's ministers, or knowledge of their intentions, was severely censured: and the more especially as it appeared that the right honourable gentleman had refused to give any official information to government, relative to the state of the country he had just left. Mr Eden, though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, persisted in urging its necessity; and, in vindication of his own conduct, stated, that the reason of his refusing to have any communication with his Majesty's present servants, was the great want of attention to the earl of Carlisle, which they had shown in the mode of appointing his successor, and in his removal from the Lord-lieutenancy of the East-riding of Yorkshire.—This apology served rather to increase the displeasure of the House; a motion of censure on his conduct was threatened; and it was with great difficulty he was at last brought to comply with the general wish of the House, in withdrawing his motion.

Mr Fox informed the House, in the course of this debate, that the ministers of the crown, during the short time they had been in office, had actually held



three or four councils solely on the affairs of Ireland; and that he hoped very soon, perhaps within the next four-and-twenty hours, to lay some preparatory measure before them. Accordingly, on the next day April 9th, he brought a message from his Majesty, to inform the House, "That, being concerned to find discontents and jealousies prevailing amongst his loyal subjects in Ireland, on matters of great weight and importance, he earnestly recommended to the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to make such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." A message to the same effect was delivered to the Lords, the first day of their meeting, and addresses were unanimously voted by both Houses.

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Message from his Majesty.

It being the declared intention of administration to proceed in this arduous business in concert with the Parliament of Ireland, a message, conceived in the same terms with those presented to the English Houses, was sent by the duke of Portland, then Lord Lieutenant, to the Commons of that kingdom, immediately after his arrival to take upon him the government.

This message, with the arrival of the Duke of Portland, was announced to the House of Commons of Ireland, on the 15th April 1782, by Mr Hutchinson, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State in that kingdom; on which occasion, Mr Grattan, the great and eloquent leader of the popular party, again moved a declaration of rights under the form of an address to the throne. In the course of his speech, he pronounced an animated panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the Irish nation. He remembered Ireland, he said, when she was a child; he had beheld her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. The Irish were no longer afraid of the French, nor of any kingdom, nor of any minister: No longer a divided colony, but an united land, manifesting itself to the rest of the world in signal instances of glory. If men turned their eyes to the rest of Europe, they found the ancient spirit expired, liberty yielded, or empire lost; nations living upon the memory of past glory, and under the care of mercenary armies. But in Ireland the inhabitants had departed from the example of other nations, and had become an example to them. They had exceeded modern, and equalled ancient Europe. Liberty, in former times, and in other nations, was recovered by the quick feelings, and rapid impulse of the populace; but in Ireland, at

Mr Grattan's second motion for declaring the independence of Ireland.

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the present period, it was recovered by an act of the whole nation, reasoning for three years on her situation, and then rescuing herself by a settled sense of right pervading the land. The meeting of the military delegates at Dungannon was a great event; it was an original measure, and, like all original measures, matter of surprise, until it became matter of admiration. The English Convention parliament was not in the ordinary course of things, nor was the manner of obtaining the great charter. The barons met King John, not in parliament, but in the field, and were in array when they formed the basis of English freedom. Great measures such as these, the meeting of the English at Runny Mead, and the meeting of the Irish at Dungannon, were original transactions, not flowing from precedent, but containing in themselves precedent and principle. All the great constitutional questions had been lost, and the public cause had been lost, if they had depended only on Parliament; but they fell into the hands of the people, and by the people would be preserved. The meeting at Dungannon had resolved, that the claim of the British Parliament to bind Ireland was illegal; and this was a constitutional declaration. The Irish volunteers were associated for the preservation of the laws; but the claims of the British Parliament were the subversion of all law. The Irish volunteers had supported the rights of the Irish Parliament against those temporary trustees who would have relinquished them. It should at the same time be observed, that England had no reason to fear the Irish volunteers. They would die for England, and her majestic race of men. Allied by liberty, as well as by allegiance, the two nations formed a constitutional confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the crown was one great bond, but Magna Charta was a greater bond. It would be easy to find a king, but impossible for the Irish to find a nation who could communicate to them a great charter, save only England; and it was this which made England their natural connexion. Ireland was planted by British privileges, as well as by British men. It was a connexion, not, as had been falsely asserted, by conquest, but by charter. Every true Irishman would say, "Liberty with England; but at all events liberty!" The Irish nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to suffer any other nation to claim a right to make their laws. England had, indeed, brought forward the question, not only by making laws for Ireland the preceding

session, but by enabling his Majesty to repeal all the laws which England had made for America. Had she consented to repeal the declaratory act against America, and would she retain the declaratory act against Ireland? Was she ready to acknowledge the independency of America, and would she not acknowledge the liberty of the ancient kingdom of Ireland? If Great Britain were capable of imposing that distinction, the Irish nation was incapable of submitting to it.

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After some debate, Mr Grattan's motion was agreed to, without a division, in the very same session in which a majority of that house had before voted against any such measure; so much were the Irish Parliament enlightened, by the spirit which the people at large exhibited, and by the various public resolutions of the armed associations. In the address it was declared, that his Majesty's subjects of Ireland were a free people; that the crown of Ireland was an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interest and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but, that the kingdom of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there was no body of men competent to make laws to bind that nation, except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament, which had any authority or power of any sort whatever in that country, save only the Parliament of Ireland. They assured his Majesty, that they humbly conceived that in this right the very essence of their liberty existed. It was a right which they, on the part of all the people of Ireland, claimed as their birth-right, and which they could not yield but with their lives. The address concluded with expressing their most sanguine expectations from his Majesty's virtuous choice of a chief governor, and their great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional counsels which they had the satisfaction to see his Majesty had adopted.

Mr Grattan's second motion agreed to.

On the ground of this address, the repeal of the act complained of was moved by the two secretaries of state, May 17th, in both Houses of the British parliament. The other points lying between the Parliament of Ireland and the King, it was only resolved, in the House of Commons, "That it was essentially necessary to the mutual happiness of the two countries, that a firm and solid connection should be forthwith established, by the consent of both, and that his Majesty should

CHAP. "be requested to give the proper directions for promo-  
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These motions passed, after a short conversation, without any opposition; and, on the 27th of the same month, the duke of Portland went in state to the Irish House of Peers, and, in a speech to both Houses of Parliament, acquainted them with the steps that had been taken by the British legislature, in compliance with their demands, and with his Majesty's gracious intentions to give his assent to acts for preventing the suppression or alteration of bills in the privy council, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. In answer to this speech, a second address to the king was agreed on, by both houses, expressing their perfect satisfaction in the measures proposed, and their assurances, that, as soon as they should be carried into effect, no constitutional question between the two countries would any longer exist.

Irish Par-  
liament  
vote 20.  
000 sea-  
men.—  
also 50,  
000 l. to  
Mr Grat-  
tan.

In return for this liberal procedure of the British government, in relinquishing its claims without any stipulation or condition whatever, the parliament of Ireland immediately voted 100,000l. for the purpose of raising 20,000 Irish seamen, for the service of his Majesty's navy. The sum of 50,000l. was also voted "for purchasing an estate, and erecting a mansion thereon, to be settled on Henry Grattan, Esq; and the heirs of his body, as a testimony of their gratitude, for the unequalled benefits conferred by him on that kingdom."

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*Negotiations for a general peace—Several reform bills passed—Resolution respecting the Middlesex election expunged—Mr Pitt's representation bill—Death of the Marquis of Rockingham—Resignations—New ministry—Debates in Parliament on the resignations—Reports of the India Committees—Prorogation—Preliminary articles of peace agreed on—Debates upon their being laid before Parliament—House of Commons disapprove of them, and vote a resolution of censure against ministry—Conclusion.*

**W**HILST measures were thus happily pursuing for restoring order and tranquillity in the sister kingdom, the new ministry were no less anxiously intent on effectuating a general peace with the different foreign powers with whom the nation was at war. No time was lost in pursuit of this great object, or in taking the necessary steps for its attainment. Accordingly, the Empress of Russia having offered her mediation, in order to restore peace between Great Britain and Holland, Mr Secretary Fox, within two days after his entrance into office, wrote a letter to Monsr. Simolin, the Russian minister in London, informing him that his Majesty was ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his Majesty and the Republic of Holland; and that in order to facilitate such a treaty, he was willing

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to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if the States-General were disposed to agree to that measure. But the States of Holland did not appear inclined to a separate peace; nor, perhaps would it have been agreeable to the principles of sound policy, if they had agreed to any propositions of this kind. However, immediately after the change of ministry, negotiations for a general peace were commenced at Paris. Mr Grenville was invested with full powers to treat with all parties at war; and was also directed to propose the independency of the Thirteen United Provinces of America, in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty. Admiral Digby and General Carleton were also directed to acquaint the American Congress with the pacific views of the British court, and with the offer that was made to acknowledge the independency of the United States.

Revenue  
officers  
and con-  
tractors  
bills passed

Nor were the new administration less anxiously intent on maturing and bringing forward those plans of œconomy and reformation at home, for the execution of which they stood pledged to the public. The bills for disqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of Parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of sitting in the House of Commons, passed the lower House, after a feeble opposition. In the House of Lords, they were more strenuously combated by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mansfield, and other Lords; but at length were carried by very large majorities, and received the royal assent.

Also the  
reform in  
the Civil-  
List expen-  
diture.

April 15.

At the same time that these bills were in their progress, the great plan of reform in the civil-list expenditure was again brought forwards by Mr Burke, who, upon the recent change of administration, had been appointed pay-master general of the forces. This important object, in which the principles of future œconomy were combined with the abolition of an enormous weight of influence in both Houses of Parliament, was introduced by a message from the King, in which he recommended to the House, "the consideration of an effectual plan of œconomy, through all the branches of the public expenditure; and acquainted them, that he had taken into his actual consideration, a reform and regulation in his civil establishment, which he would shortly cause to be laid before the House, and desiring their assistance towards carrying the same more fully into execution. He declared he had no reserve with his people, on whose affections he rested with a sure reliance, as the

best support of the true honour and dignity of his crown and government.”

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The address was moved by Mr Burke, and seconded by Mr Powys, who both spoke with signs of great emotion, declaring themselves unable to give utterance to the feelings which so happy and glorious an event had excited. The papers mentioned in the message, were not laid before the House until the beginning of May, when Mr Burke was called to the chair of the Committee appointed to take them into consideration, and was directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to pay off the debt on his civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to carry into a law the retrenchments which his Majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household.

This bill being a part of that large and comprehensive plan of regulation, which had been submitted to Parliament by Mr Burke two years before, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of it on the present occasion. It shall suffice to remark, that it was proposed by this new bill to abolish the Board of Trade, the Board of Works, and the Great Wardrobe, together with the office of Third Secretary of State, and also the offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Cofferer of the Household, the Lords of Police of Scotland, the Paymaster of the Pensions, the Master of the Harriers, the Master of the Stag-hounds, and six clerks to the Board of Green Cloth. Various other savings were to be made by this bill, to the amount, in the whole, of about 72,368*l.* per annum.

Unfortunately, however, it appeared, that the arrear due on the civil list amounted to 295,877*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* and for the payment of this debt provision was made by the bill. It was the more mortifying to the nation to have this royal debt to pay, as so liberal and ample an allowance had been before made for the support of his Majesty; as the King's debts had been before repeatedly liquidated by grants from Parliament; and as there was no appearance of any splendor in the royal household adequate to such enormous expences, or any evidence that the great sums raised from the people, and granted to the crown, had been employed for the honour of the Prince, or for any beneficial purpose whatever.

Mr. Burke's bill passed the House of Commons without much opposition; but was very strongly opposed in the House of Lords by the Chancellor and Lord

CHAP. Loughborough. It was, however, zealously defended  
XXXV. by the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Shelburne;  
1782. and having passed both Houses, received the royal  
assent.

Pay-office This bill was followed by another for the regulation  
bill. of his own office; the principal object of which was to  
prevent the possibility of any balance accumulating in  
the hands of the Paymaster-general.

Resoluti- A motion was made by Mr Wilkes, May 3d, for  
on respect- expunging from the journals of the House, the famous  
ing the resolution of the 17th of February 1769, relative to  
Middlesex the Middlesex election. Mr Wilkes, after so long  
election expunged. a succession of annual defeats, now triumphed at last;  
there being on the division, ayes 115; noes 47. Both  
Mr Fox and Lord North spoke and voted against the  
question.

Mr Pitt's On the 7th, Mr William Pitt brought the subject of  
bill for a a reform in the constitution of Parliament again before  
reform in the House. The insuperable difficulties that had oc-  
the consti- curred in bringing the friends of such reformation to  
tution of agree in any specific proposition, induced him on the  
Parlia- present occasion to vary the mode of proceeding, and  
ment. to move, "That a Committee be appointed to inquire  
into the state of the representation in Parliament, and  
to report to the House their sentiments thereon." The  
debate was long, and ably supported by the mover,  
Mr Sawbridge, Sir George Saville, Mr Fox, and others,  
on the side of a reform; and by Mr Powys, Mr Tho-  
mas Pitt, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, against  
it. On a division, the motion was rejected by a majori-  
ty of 161 to 141.

The lateness of the season not affording time for the  
completion and perfection of all the plans of reform and  
regulation, which were in contemplation of the new  
ministry, in order to prevent their being neglected or  
forgotten in any subsequent change of circumstances,  
Lord John Cavendish moved, June 18th, in a Com-  
mittee of the whole House, ten resolutions, relating to  
various branches of reform. But whilst Parliament  
was thus successfully engaged in prosecuting the most  
effectual measure for the security of its own inde-  
pendence, for healing the breaches of the constitution,  
and relieving the burdens of the people, a heavy ca-  
lamity was approaching, which again darkened the  
prospect that had so happily opened to the nation. This  
was the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, on the  
1st July 1782. The Marquis died of a dropy in his  
stomach, with which complaint he had been afflicted for

Death of  
the Mar-  
quis of  
Rocking-  
ham.



many years, but kept it back by exercise. His late close application to business was supposed to have accelerated his death. Having left no issue, a great part of his valuable estates descend to Earl Fitz-William, his nephew, as heir at law.

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The rank, fortune, and great personal and parliamentary influence of the Marquis, had raised him to the high station in which he had been placed; and the mildness and moderation of his temper, and his amiable manners, had greatly contributed, during his life, after he came into office, to prevent any open variance in the Cabinet; though there had been some appearance of dissatisfaction and difference of opinion. But the death of the Marquis afforded ample scope for the workings of rivalry and contention. The Earl of Shelburne obtained from his Majesty the office of First Lord of the Treasury, in the room of the late Marquis; an appointment which gave great offence to some of his colleagues, and more particularly to Mr Fox. It is supposed to have been the wish of that gentleman, and of others connected with him, that the Duke of Portland should have been appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and that the Earl of Shelburne and himself should have continued Joint-Secretaries of State. However this might be, it is certain, that the elevation of the Earl to the Treasury gave so much offence, that Mr Fox and Lord John Cavendish immediately resigned their offices; and were followed by the Duke of Portland; by Mr Frederick Montague and Lord Althorpe, from the Board of Treasury; Lord Duncannon and Mr John Townshend, from the Admiralty; Mr Edmund Burke, from the Pay-office; and Mr Lee, Solicitor General. These probably expected that others in office would have resigned with them. But some of the other members of the Cabinet, though little attached to Lord Shelburne, appeared to consider the resignation of Mr Fox as too precipitate an act, and therefore continued to retain their offices; and those who were personally connected with the Earl, naturally, and of course, continued in their stations. His Lordship also attached to his interest Mr William Pitt, son to the late Earl of Chatham; a gentleman, who, at a very early life, had already greatly distinguished himself in Parliament, and who was prevailed upon, at this very critical period, to accept the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Lord John Cavendish. The other principal offices were filled up as follows: Mr Thomas Townshend and

Resignations.

New ministry.

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Debates  
on the re-  
signations.

Lord Grantham were made Secretaries of State; Mr Richard Jackson and Mr Edward James Elliot, Commissioners of Treasury; Mr John Jeffries Pratt and Mr John Aubrey, Commissioners of Admiralty; Mr Isaac Barre, Paymaster of the Forces; Mr Pepper Arden, Solicitor General; the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Treasurer of the Navy; and the Earl of Temple, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

On the 9th of July, Mr Fox took occasion to state to the House of Commons some reasons for his late resignation. He observed, that he considered this measure as a necessary step, when he found himself in a Cabinet, which was divided upon points that he regarded as of the utmost importance. When he went into that Cabinet, he considered himself as pledged to his country for the system he pursued. What then was to be done, when, to his plain and evident conviction, these principles were departed from by some of those ministers? It was his immediate duty to retire from a situation, in which he could no longer act with honour to himself, as he could no longer act with service to his country.

General Conway, who had remained in office, said, It was very natural to expect, that in a Cabinet composed of eleven men, all with strong, manly, and independent minds, there would be shades of difference in their opinions; but these shades of difference would be unessential and unimportant, as they all agreed on the great outline, object, and end which was in view, and only differed about the means of obtaining it. Excepting those small and nice shades of difference, he knew of no disagreement and division in the Cabinet, which ought to have induced the right honourable gentleman to resign his place, and to withdraw his powerful talents and great influence from the government of this country, to the establishment of which he had so much contributed.

This called up Mr Fox again, who begged that the House would excuse him for rising a second time to exculpate himself, not only from the heavy charge of having quitted the service of the public without cause, but against an insinuation of his having done it from pique, and from a disappointment in a contest for place and power. He said, he was happy in being able to answer the latter charge effectually, and to appeal to the right honourable General himself for the truth of his assertions. He then declared, that before the death of the noble Marquis, and at a time when his recovery

was hoped for with great confidence, he had in full CHAP.  
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Cabinet declared his intentions of resigning, if certain measures were not adopted. He was out-voted in that Council; different measures were adopted; and as he looked upon those measures to be in the last degree dangerous, he owed it to himself and to his country, not to remain any longer in a situation, in which he could not act without renouncing his principles, or betraying his trust with the public. Mr. Fox made some severe reflections on the character of the Earl of Shelburne, and assigned his appointment to the office of First Lord of the Treasury, as an additional reason for his resignation. His Lordship was, he said, a giant in promises, but a pigmy in performance. He was a man who would declare, that the influence of the crown ought to be diminished; but who would, at the same time, threaten them with a revival of the King's negative, whenever they attempted to move any bills of retrenchment. In short, he was a man, whose qualities were exactly the reverse of those of his predecessor. It might, perhaps, be asked, Why he came into office with the Earl of Shelburne at all, if he entertained such sentiments concerning him? To this he must answer, that he had strong objections to it from the first; and with respect both to him, and to another noble person, the Chancellor, the only thing that could make him submit to associate with them in office, was, the satisfactory pledge which he had for the integrity of the administration in the late Marquis of Rockingham being at the head of it.

After Mr Fox, Lord John Cavendish got up, and contented himself with declaring in general terms, that finding a different system was meant to be pursued from that on which the late administration had been formed, and finding it impossible by his presence to prevent it, he had determined to withdraw, that he might not divide the Cabinet, and render it the scene of confusion it had been in the time of their predecessors.

Mr William Pitt arraigned the conduct of the late secretary of state in the severest terms. It was evident, he said, from the whole tenor of the right hon. gentleman's speeches, that he was more at variance with men than their measures. He denied that he had adduced any public ground on which his resignation was justifiable.

This conversation, which continued to a late hour in the night, was closed by Mr Lee. He said he had heard much of dissention, but he had not seen one

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person step forward to say the Earl of Shelburne was a fit and proper person for the high office he held. If there was any such person, he wished to hear him. He concluded with some observations on the youth and inexperience of the new chancellor of the exchequer. He said, there was an obvious intention of trifling with the people, by bringing forward one of their favourites as a compensation for insulting another; but though the honourable gentleman would adorn any scene in which his part was properly cast, yet he did not think the confidence of the people would be much increased, by putting the complicated business of our finances into the hands of a boy.

Next day, July 10th, the same interesting subject was discussed in the House of Lords. The Duke of Richmond followed General Conway in declaring, that so long as the great principles on which the late administration had been formed was adhered to, (and he had no reason to imagine they would be abandoned) he should continue to act with and support the noble Earl.

The earl of Shelburne now rose, and declared himself perfectly satisfied with being supported on the terms stated by the noble duke. It was from his measures, not from his promises, that he expected to derive support; and if they should not be found to deserve it, he would not repine at not finding it.

His Lordship likewise remarked, that he had been charged with inconsistency respecting America. To clear himself of this, he asserted, that he still held the same principles in respect to American independence which he at first imbibed. He had been, and yet was of opinion, that whenever the Parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the sun of England's glory was set forever. It was the opinion of Lord Chatham, as well as of many other able statesmen. Some noble lords, however, thought differently; and as the majority of the cabinet supported them, he acquiesced in the measure, dissenting from the idea. But if independence were to be granted, if Parliament deemed that measure prudent, he foresaw in his own mind that England was undone. He wished to God, that he had been deputed to the Congress, that he might plead the cause of that country as well as of this; and that he might exercise whatever powers he possessed, as an orator, to save both from ruin, by bringing the Congress to a conviction, that if their independence was signed, their liberties were gone for ever.

These observations made by the Earl of Shelburne, respecting the independence of America, must appear very extraordinary, when it is considered, that this speech of his lordship was made some time after General Carleton and Admiral Digby were directed by that ministry, of which his lordship was a part, to write a letter to General Washington, acquainting him—"That his Majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace, which he so ardently wished to restore, had commanded his ministers to direct Mr Grenville, that the independence of the Thirteen United Provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty." There was an appearance of duplicity in this conduct, which is not easily to be accounted for.

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The limits necessary to be observed, will not permit entering into a detail of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the affairs of the East India Company. The two committees continued to sit during the whole session with unremitting diligence and application. Their reports were voluminous beyond example, and universally allowed to be drawn up with the greatest ability and judgment.

Reports of  
the India  
Commit-  
tee.

On the 11th of July, some altercation took place in both houses concerning the Earl of Shelburne, and several assertions which had been made by that nobleman, the truth of which was strongly contested. But the farther prosecution of these disputes was prevented, by the Parliament being prorogued on that day.

Proroga-  
tion.

In consequence of the resolutions of the British Parliament for an accommodation with the American Colonies, and the instructions which had been dispatched to Sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York; Sir Guy, early in May 1782, dispatched a letter to General Washington, informing him of the proceeding in Parliament, and his powers to treat with the United States on the subject of peace; at the same time, requiring a passport for Mr Morgan, his Secretary, whom he proposed to dispatch on the same business to Congress. Mr Washington referred the proposal to Congress; but, being determined not to make a separate peace, they forbade his granting the passport, and gave strict injunctions against the receiving any proposals, or the admission of any emissaries from Britain, on that subject.

Negocia-  
tions for  
peace.

While the Americans were thus ostentatiously dis-  
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playing their public fidelity, and endeavouring even to cut off the possibility of temptation, by shutting out every overture towards a separate accommodation, we are to look to the measures that were pursuing in Europe, for the attainment of a general peace between all the parties concerned in the war. Two of the first powers in Europe, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, were the mediators in this great business; the difficulties of which seemed in no small degree to be done away, by the disposition of granting independence to America which prevailed in England. With respect to France, indeed, as the attainment of that point was her only avowed object in the war, its being granted seemed at once to remove the very ground of contention. As to Spain, if her conduct and motives could at all be clearly comprehended, she entered into the war, rather as an auxiliary, and in consequence of the family compact, than as a principal, or as acting at all upon national principles. Indeed, it is supposed, that she was so dazzled by the splendid objects of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as to be blind to all others. The acquisition of these, as well as of Minorca, however unlikely at that time to be attained, was artfully held out by France, not only as a lure to the ambition of the King, but as imposing an opinion on the people, that they had a national interest in view, and that they were not plunged madly into a war, which was not only entirely *Bourbon*, but highly dangerous and destructive in its principle and design to themselves. But neither the embarrassed state of her finances, the repeated failure of all her designs upon Jamaica, her late signal defeat at Gibraltar, nor any other circumstances of her present condition, seemed to afford any solid ground to Spain, upon which she could reasonably attempt to establish further claims. The republic of Holland, unfortunately fallen and degraded in a degree which she had never before experienced, from the first general acknowledgment of her independency to the present æra, was, of course and of necessity, reduced to depend entirely upon the favour, generosity, and protection of France, as well in the conclusion of a peace, as she had through the progress of the war.—Under these general circumstances of the contending powers, the independence of America being granted, there did not seem to be any mighty impediment remaining in the way to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

The new administration in England speedily adopted this business upon their coming into power; and Mr

Greenville had been for some time in Paris, in order to settle the necessary preliminaries, and to smooth the way for opening a negotiation in due form. These matters being settled, Mr Fitzherbert, the minister at Brussels, proceeded to Paris, he being appointed, on the part of England, as plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr Oswald, a merchant, was likewise dispatched to the same place, as commissioner from his Britannic Majesty, for treating of peace with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the commissioners appointed for the same purpose on the part of the United States of America.

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The differences with America were much sooner settled (so far at least as their dependence on the main treaty could at present admit) than those with the European powers. On the 30th of November 1782, provisional articles were signed on both sides, which were to be inserted in, and to constitute a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place.

Preliminary articles agreed on with America, France, Spain, and Holland, Jan. 20 1783.

The Preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January 1783, by Mr Alleyne Fitzherbert, on the part of the one, and by the Count de Vergennes, on that of the other; as the preliminary articles between England and Spain were, on the same day, by the first of these gentlemen, and by the Count d'Aranda, on the part of the Catholic King.

It was not with equal expedition that the negotiations for peace were settled with Holland. A cessation of hostilities was soon agreed on; but the preliminary articles of peace were not signed till the 2d September 1783. As these, together with the Definitive Treaties with America, France, and Spain, are inserted at full length in the Appendix, (No. 3. 5. 6. 7.) it will be unnecessary to give any abstract of them here.

The meeting of Parliament was expected with the greatest impatience; and the concern of the public with regard to the negotiations for a peace was universal and anxious. No sooner were the articles of the different treaties laid before Parliament, on the 17th of February 1783, than the most vehement declamations against ministry took place. Never had the administration of Lord North himself been arraigned with more asperity of language.

Preliminary treaties laid before Parliament.

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Debates  
on the ad-  
dress in  
the House  
of Lords.

In the house of Lords, an address was moved for by Lord Pembroke, and seconded by the Marquis of Carmarthen, "thanking his Majesty for laying the Preliminary Treaties before the House; assuring him they had carefully considered and weighed them; and that they most heartily approved of them, &c.

The address was warmly opposed by Lord Carlisle, who proposed an amendment, to the following purpose:

"To return thanks to his majesty for the communication of the preliminary articles of peace, and for having put a stop to the calamities of war by a peace, which being concluded, we must consider as binding, and not to be infringed without the violation of the national faith: To assure his Majesty that we feel, in the strongest manner, the obligation of affording every relief that can alleviate the distresses of those deserving subjects, who have exposed themselves and fortunes for the support of Great Britain; and at the same time, that we cannot help lamenting the necessity which bids us subscribe to articles, which, considering the relative situation of the belligerent powers, we must regard as inadequate to our just expectations, and derogatory to the honour and dignity of Great Britain."

The amendment was opposed by Lord Shelburne, Lord Hawke, the Dukes of Chandos and Grafton, Lord Grantham, Lord Howe, and the Lord Chancellor; and was supported by Lords Walsingham, Dudley, Townshend, Keppel, King, Sackville, and Loughborough. The House having divided, the amendment was negatived by 72 to 59.

Debates  
on the ad-  
dress in  
the Com-  
mons.

In the House of Commons, an address of thanks, similar to that of the Lords, was moved for by Mr T. Pitt, and seconded by Mr Wilberforce. It, however, met with a very different fate, after giving occasion to very warm debates.

Amend-  
ment pro-  
posed and  
carried.

An amendment to the address was proposed by Lord John Cavendish, and seconded by Mr St John, that instead of the words, "*had* considered," should be inserted "*will* consider;" that all the rest of the original address should be left out, and that the following paragraph should be inserted: "That whatever may be the sentiments of his faithful Commons on this investigation of the terms of pacification, they beg leave to assure his Majesty of their firm and unalterable resolution to adhere inviolably to the several articles for which the public faith is pledged, and to maintain the blessings of peace, so necessary to his



“ Majesty’s subjects, and the general happiness of mankind.”

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Lord North, in a very long and able speech, went over the different articles of the peace, which he reprobated as being altogether unfavourable to Great Britain, dangerous to the safety, and derogatory to the honour of the nation, and not warranted or justified by the situation of the parties at war. He therefore said, he would vote for the amendment, to which he proposed to add a clause in favour of the American loyalists.

Mr Powys was strenuous for the address, and declared his satisfaction with the peace in the most unequivocal manner. He disavowed all personal and interested motives; and while he gloried that the first Lord of the Treasury had broken the confederacy in arms against this country, he confessed that he had no great predilection for his character. He thought that this was the age of strange confederacies. The world had seen great and arbitrary despots stand forth the protectors of an infant republic. France and Spain had combined to establish the rising liberties of America; and what was wonderful, the House of Commons now surveyed the counterpart of this picture. A monstrous coalition had been made between a noble lord, and an illustrious commoner. The lofty assertor of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worshipper of the majesty of the people.

The Lord Advocate exclaimed against the amendment, and against the addition made to it by Lord North; and from the coalition formed between the latter and Mr Fox, he judged that they would be both against the original motion. After attacking the coalition, his Lordship defended the treaties. He was persuaded that, with regard to the loyalists, the ministry had done every thing within the compass of their power.

Mr Sheridan remarked the reflections which had been thrown out against the coalition of Lord North and Mr Fox; and pointed out, as something more singular, the intimate alliance which had been formed between the Lord Advocate, the most pledged supporter of the high prerogative of the crown, and Mr Pitt, the leader of the popular advocates for a parliamentary reform. He doubted not the convenience of the principles of the learned lord. They could perpetually fluctuate with his interest. It mattered not to him whether he was to advance the prerogative, or to

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2d to its overthrow. In these opposite lines of conduct he could preserve his consistency ; for his uniform object was himself.

Mr Fox now rose, and pointed out the peculiar delicacy of his situation. He had been accused of having formed an union with a noble lord whose principles he had opposed for several years of his life. But the grounds of their opposition being removed, he did not conceive it to be honourable to keep up animosities for ever. The American war was the source of his disagreement with the noble lord ; and that cause of enmity being now no more, it was wise and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animosity, the rancour, and the feuds which it engendered. The learned lord, who had imprudently been so lavish of his charges, had once been the obedient friend of the noble person in the blue ribband ; and with what view had he deserted him ? He had formerly approved this system when it was calamitous and unjust ; and did he now, from a spirit of system, avoid him when his line of conduct was more meritorious ? The maxims adopted by the learned lord were not unknown ; and no virtuous statesman could possibly approve of them. They taught him to submit to perpetual variations of his sentiments ; and to go decidedly into the views of ministers, whatever they might be.

Mr Pitt, and several other members, took part in the debate ; after which the House having divided, it appeared that ministry were outvoted, there being a majority for the amendment of 224 to 208.

The defeat of the minister in the House of Commons on the subject of the address to the Throne, was a topic of universal conversation, and considered as a prognostic of his approaching fall. It was immediately perceived, that the determination of the House would be a public notification of the impropriety of the peace ; and it was therefore thought advisable, that it should be followed up by some other proceeding. Accordingly, on the 21st February, the subject was a second time brought before the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish. His Lordship expressed his concern, that the majority for the amendment on the address to the throne, had been represented as having actually voted against the peace, possibly by some persons who might have had their own views to serve in propagating such a report. He was therefore anxious to convince the nation, and the

Debates  
on a resolution  
of censure  
on the peace,  
moved by  
Lord John  
Cavendish

powers with whom we were negotiating, of our fixed determination not to renew the war. Nevertheless, he censured in severe terms the conditions on which the peace had been obtained; and having recapitulated the various disadvantages we had sustained in effecting the pacification, read the following motions:

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1. "That in consideration of the public faith, which ought to be preserved inviolable, his faithful Commons will support his Majesty in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitely, in consequence of the provisional treaty, and the preliminary articles.—2. That, in concurrence with his Majesty's paternal regard for his people, they will employ their best endeavours to improve the blessings of peace.—3. That his Majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, has acted as the circumstances of affairs indisputably required, and in conformity to the sense of parliament.—4. That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength.—And, 5. That they would take the case of the loyalists into consideration, and administer such relief as their conduct and necessity should be found to merit."

The two first resolutions were agreed to without any opposition. On the third a short debate took place, occasioned by doubts having arisen in the minds of several members, respecting the power vested in the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, which, it was unanimously agreed by the gentleman of the long robe, his Majesty had full authority to do, in consequence of the statute passed last year to enable him to make peace with America. The last resolution Lord John Cavendish consented to wave. But on the fourth, which conveyed so pointed a censure on ministry, a very animated debate took place.

Mr Powys said, he by no means approved of many articles of the peace; but taking its advantages and disadvantages together, he was sure that the ministers who had made it deserved thanks. It was his wish that foreign courts knew, as well as it was understood here, that the present contentions had not in view the interruption of the peace, but the overthrow of the minister. It was a matter of little concern that the First Lord of the Treasury should remain in office. But it was a regret to him to observe,

CHAP. that a most unnatural coalition had been entered into  
 XXXV. to overfet him. It was poffible that fome alloy might  
 be ufeful to make the political coin durable for cur-  
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 entirely.

Lord John Cavendifh advised his Hon. friend not to permit his wit to outrun his judgment; and affured him that he would have valued his compliments more, if they had been lefs accompanied with farcafms againft a certain coalition. The prefent juncture of affairs called for fuch an union. It was only by the concurring efforts of eminent and able men that Great Britain was now to recover her greatnefs.

Mr Fox argued, that a cenfure of the peace did not imply a difpofition to continue the war; and he recalled to the attention of the Houfe, that one of the refolutions which had been moved, expreffed their refolute determination to fupport pacific meafures. The abufe thrown upon the coalition of parties which had taken place, was not only mean, but abfurd. To defcend into personalities was at all times odious; but to indulge them to the difadvantage of men who had united to preferve the conftitution of their country, was a folecifm of which the wildnefs was prodigious.—Mr Fox then, in a very long and mafterly fpeech, canvaffed, feparately, the articles of the different treaties; from which he endeavoured to fhew, that the concessions made to the different powers with which we were at war, were fuch as could not be juftified from a confideration of the relative fituation of the contending parties.

Mr Pitt, after deploring the inconfiftencies of party-violence, faid, he allowed that the relative ftrength and refources of the refpective powers at war were the ftandards by which the merits of the peace ought to be tried, and upon this ftandard he was ready to prove that the peace was the beft that could be obtained. It was in vain to boaft of the ftrength of our navy. We had not more than one hundred fail of the line. But the fleet of France and Spain amounted nearly to one hundred and forty fhips of the line. A deftination of feventy-two fhips of the line was to have acted againft Jamaica. Admiral Pigot had only forty-fix fail to fupport it; and it was a favourite maxim of many members of this houfe, that defensive war muft terminate in certain ruin. It was not poffible that Admiral Pigot could have acted offenfively againft the iflands of the enemy. For Lord Rodney, when flufhed

with victory, did not dare to attack them. Would Admiral Pigot have recovered by arms what the ministers have regained by negociation? With a superior fleet against him, and in its sight, is it to be conceived that he could have retaken Grenada, Dominica, St Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat? On the contrary, is it not more than probable that the campaign in the West Indies must have terminated in the loss of Jamaica?

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In the east, it was true that the services of Sir Edward Hughes had been highly extolled. But he could only be commended for a merely defensive resistance. Victory seemed to be out of the question; and he had not been able to prevent the disembarkation of a powerful European armament, which had joined itself to Hyder Ally, and threatened the desolation of the Carnatic. At home, and in our own seas, the fleets of the enemy would have been nearly double to ours. We might have seized the intervals of their cruise, and paraded the Channel for a few weeks. But that parade would have only served to disgrace us. It was yet the only atchievment in our power; for to have hazarded an engagement, would have been equivalent to a surrender of the kingdom. Neither, in his opinion, was the state of our army to be considered as formidable. New levies could not be raised in a depopulated country. We might send upon an offensive scheme five or six thousand men; and what expectation could be excited by a force of this kind? To have withdrawn troops from America was a critical game. There were no transports in which they might be embarked; and if it had been possible to embark them, in what miraculous manner were they to be protected against the fleets of the enemy?

As to our finances, they were melancholy, and hardly exhibited one ray of comfort. Let the immense extent of our debts be weighed; let our resources be considered; and let us then ask, what would have been the consequence of the protraction of the war? It would have endangered the bankruptcy of public faith; and this bankruptcy, it is obvious, if it had come upon us, might have dissolved all the ties of government, and in its convulsions have operated to the general ruin.

There was an indecent levity in the manner in which the condemnation of the peace was pronounced. To accept it, or to continue the war, was the only alternative in the power of ministers. Such was the ultimatum of France. There was a time when we could have

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dictated to the proudest of our enemies. But that era is passed, and the summit of glory, of which we could once vaunt, is now but a vision and a memory. At the same time, however, let it be remembered, that the peace obtained is better than was suited to the lowliness of our condition. We have acknowledged the American independence. But what is that but an empty form? The incapacity of the minister who conducted the war, a series of unprosperous events, and a vote of the House, had produced the acknowledgment. We have ceded Florida. But have we not obtained the islands of Providence and the Bahamas? We have granted an extent of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland. But have we not established an exclusive right to the most valuable banks? We have restored St Lucia, and given up Tobago. But have we not regained Grenada, Dominica, St Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat? And have we not rescued Jamaica from inevitable danger? In Africa, we have given Goree. But Goree was the grave of our countrymen; and we have secured Fort James and the river Gambia, the best and the most healthy settlement. In Europe, we have relinquished Minorca. But ought it to be forgotten, that Minorca is not tenable in war, and that in peace it must be supported at a ruinous expence? We have permitted the reparation of the port of Dunkirk. But Dunkirk could only be an object when ships of a far inferior draught to the present were in use. The change in the operations of naval war had taken away its importance. In the East Indies, cessions have been made. But let it be remarked, that these possessions are inconsiderable in themselves, and could not be protected by us in the event of hostilities. In fine, it is objected, that we have abandoned the unhappy loyalists to their implacable enemies. What is this but to impute to Congress, by anticipation, a violence which common decency forbids us to expect? But let it be considered, that the principle of assisting these unfortunate men would not have justified ministers to have continued the war; nor would a continuation of the war have procured them any certain indemnity. The accumulation of our distresses must have added to theirs. A year or two hence harder terms of peace might have been forced upon our acceptance. Their fate then must have been desperate indeed. But, as matters are situated, there are hopes of mercy and reconciliation.

The conditions of peace, instead of being an object of blame, are entitled to applause. Nor indeed is the noise of opposition applied seriously to them. The

present storm of faction has in view the noble lord at the head of the Treasury. It is to overthrow him that an odious coalition has been thought of; and if this baneful alliance, if this ill-omened marriage is not yet solemnized, he knew of a legal impediment against it, and forbad the bans in the name of the public safety.

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Lord North testified a surprise at the criminations which had been thrown out against him. Conscious of his own innocence, he was bold enough to defy either censure or punishment. His coalition with the noble lord whose motion was before the House, had been made on principles neither dishonourable to themselves, nor disadvantageous to the country. The character of the noble lord and his public disinterestedness were universally known, and universally extolled. He acknowledged that Mr Fox had appeared long against him, and had exercised his eloquence with success. But though strong expressions might be mutually thrown out in the heat and ardor of debate, it did not follow that their public hostility was to last for ever, and to survive the cause which had occasioned it. He respected the political integrity of the honourable gentleman. As a friend, he was sure that he would find him to be firm, manly, and honest. As an enemy, he had experienced him to be very formidable indeed! And any minister whom he chose to oppose, would doubtless be impressed with a similar opinion. But while he was proud of the coalition to which he had been invited, he was not in consequence to make any sacrifice either of his public principles or character.

The Speaker having put the question upon Lord John Cavendish's fourth resolution, the Ministry were again defeated, by a majority of 207 to 190.

Resolution carried against ministry.

From the foregoing history it may be observed, that through the violence of the different factions, a general distrust and suspicion prevailed throughout the nation, insomuch that the most improbable stories with respect to individuals began to gain credit, as if they had privately favoured the designs of our enemies. On the whole, however, it appears, that notwithstanding the excessive altercation and virulence frequently displayed, which even went the length of occasioning duels between some members of Parliament, neither the one nor the other party entertained any hostile designs against what they believed to be the true interest of the nation. The one seems to have regarded its honour too much, and been in-

Conclusion.

CHAP. XXXV. declined to have sacrificed even its existence to that favourite notion: The other perhaps respected the national honour too little; as indeed no advantageous idea could be formed of the spirit of a nation, which could submit to grant its colonies independence without any struggle. Happy, however, was it for this country, that a general peace, however unfavourable, at last put an end to the most dangerous and unfortunate war in which Great Britain had ever been engaged. Nor was this event less fortunate for her different opponents both of Europe and America; for, notwithstanding the powerful combinations against her, it must be admitted, that Britain still remained in a state of superiority to all her enemies. During the whole period of the contest, and ever since, it has appeared how much those politicians were mistaken, who imagined that the prosperity of this country depended, in a great measure, on her colonies. Though for a number of years she has not only been deprived of these colonies, but opposed by them in all their force; though attacked at the same time by three of the greatest powers in Europe, and looked upon with an invidious eye by all the rest; the injuries done to her were greatly exceeded by the losses and disasters sustained by her adversaries. Their trade by sea was almost ruined; their finances exhausted; and, on comparing the captures of ships on both sides, the balance in favour of Britain appears to be 28 ships of the line, and 27 frigates, carrying in all 2000 guns. It is also a curious fact, that the very establishment of the independence of America, the grand object of her enemies, has proved even more prejudicial to them than to Britain. It has set an example to the subjects of these powers, to throw off their allegiance, and overturn the constitution of their different countries. Hence the revolution and bankruptcy in France; hence the probability and dread of a similar revolution in Spain: and hence the dissensions, suspicious credit, and present insignificance of the States of Holland. The event, however, has shewn, that the loss of the colonies, so far from being a disadvantage to this country, has been the very reverse. The commerce of Great Britain, instead of being dependent on America, has arrived at a much greater height than ever; while the consequent increase of wealth may, it is hoped, in time enable the nation, by proper economy, to ease itself a little of that enormous load of debt, great part of which has been contracted, first in defending, and then in attempting to conquer the colonies.

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# A P P E N D I X.

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## No. I.

### TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

**T**HE United States, assembled in Congress, to all who shall see these presents, greeting. Whereas Benjamin Franklin, our minister plenipotentiary, by virtue of full powers vested in him, has made, with Charles Gravier de Vergennes, counsellor of the king in all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of state, vested also with full powers by his Most Christian Majesty for that purpose, concluded and signed a contract between his said Most-Christian Majesty and the United States of North America, in the terms following:

*Contract between the King and the Thirteen United States of North America, concluded by Mr de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin.*

As it has pleased the king to comply with the requests made to him in the name, and on the part of, the United Provinces of North America, by assisting them in the war and invasion under which they have groaned during several years; and his majesty, after having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the said confederated provinces, on the 6th of February, 1778, having had the goodness to succour them, not only by his sea and land forces, but also by means of advancing them money as bountifully as in its consequence efficaciously, at a time when their affairs were in a very critical situation; it has been judged proper and necessary to fix the exact amount of these advances, the conditions upon which the king has made them, the different periods at which the Congress of the United States have agreed to pay them into his majesty's royal treasury; and finally to regulate this matter so, that no difficulties may hereafter arise to interrupt that good harmony which his majesty is resolved to support on his part with the United States. For the purpose, therefore, of accomplishing so desirable an end, and with a view of strengthening those bonds of amity and commerce which subsist between his Majesty and the United States; We Charles Gravier de Vergennes, &c. counsellor to the king and all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of state to his command and finances, vested with full powers by his Majesty: and We Benjamin Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, vested equally with full powers by the Congress of the said states, after having each communicated our respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art I. It is agreed upon and certified, that the sums advanced by his Majesty to the Congress of the United States, under the title of a loan, in the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, and in the present year 1782, amount together to the sum of eighteen millions of livres, of French money, as appears by the twenty-one receipts following, signed by the said minister of the Congress, and given by virtue of his full powers; namely,

|                 | Livres.     |                     | Livres.    |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1.—28 Feb. 1778 | - 750,000   | 14.—15 Feb. 1781    | 750,000    |
| 2.—19 May       | - 750,000   | 15.—15 May          | 750,000    |
| 3.—3 Aug.       | - 750,000   | 16.—15 Aug.         | 750,000    |
| 4.—1 Nov.       | - 750,000   | 17.—1 Oct.          | 1,000,000  |
|                 | 3,000,000   | 18.—15 Nov.         | 750,000    |
|                 |             |                     | 4,000,000  |
| 5.—10 June 1779 | - 250,000   |                     |            |
| 6.—16 Sept.     | - 250,000   | 19.—10 April, 1782, | 1,500,000  |
| 7.—4 Oct.       | - 250,000   | 20.—2 July          | 1,500,000  |
| 8.—21 Dec.      | - 250,000   | 21.—5               | 3,000,000  |
|                 | 1,000,000   |                     | 6,000,000  |
|                 |             |                     |            |
| 9.—29 Feb. 1780 | - 750,000   |                     |            |
| 10.—27 May      | - 750,000   |                     |            |
| 11.—21 June     | - 750,000   |                     |            |
| 12.—3 Oct.      | - 1,000,000 |                     |            |
| 13.—27 Nov.     | - 750,000   |                     |            |
|                 | 4,000,000   |                     |            |
|                 |             | Total               | 12,000,000 |

By which receipts, the said minister has promised, in the name of the Congress, on the part of the Thirteen United States, to cause to be paid and reimbursed to the king's royal treasury, on the 1st of January 1788, at the house of his principal banker at Paris, the above sum, with the interest due thereon, at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

Art. II. Upon consideration, however, that the payment of so large a capital at one stipulated period, namely, the 1st of January 1788, may be exceedingly inconvenient to the finances of the Congress of the United States, and that it might, perhaps, be even impracticable, it has pleased his majesty on that account to release them from the tenor of those receipts given by their minister for the eighteen millions of livres Tournois, mentioned in the preceding article; and he has consented that the reimbursement of the capital in yearly money, to his royal treasury shall be made in twelve equal payments, of 1,500,000 livres each, and in twelve years, to begin the third year after the peace.

Art. III. Although the receipts of the minister of the Congress of the United States, mention, that, the 18,000,000 of livres above mentioned shall be paid into the royal treasury with five per cent. interest, his majesty, desirous of giving a fresh proof to the said United States of his friendship, has been pleased to make them a present of the arrears of interest to this day, and also to remit it from this time to the day of the date of the treaty of peace; a favour which the minister of Congress acknowledges as proceeding purely from the king's bounty, and which he accepts in the name of the United States with the most profound and lively gratitude.

Art. IV. The payment of the said 18,000,000 of livres shall be made in ready money to his majesty's royal treasury at Paris, in twelve equal payments, and at the period stated in the second article above. The interest on the said sum at the rate of five per cent. to run from the date of the treaty of peace; the payment of it shall be made at the time of each of the partial reimbursements: the Congress are nevertheless at liberty to free themselves from this obligation sooner, by anticipating payments, in case the state of their finances should permit.

Art. V. Although the loan of 5,000,000 of the Dutch florins granted by the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the terms of the obligation passed on the 5th of November 1781, has been made in his majesty's name, and he has acknowledged himself for the payment of it, it is nevertheless acknowledged by these presents, that the said loan has been made in reality on account of, and for the service of the United States of North America; and that the capital, amounting, according to a moderate valuation, to the sum of 10,000,000 livres Tournois, has been paid the United States, agreeable to receipt given for the payment of the said sum by the undersigned minister of Congress, on the 7th of last June.

Art. VI. By the said convention of the 5th of November, 1781, it has pleased the king to promise and to engage himself to furnish and to pay to the general office of the States General of the Netherlands the capital of the said loan, together with the interest of five per cent. without any charge or deduction whatsoever to the lenders, so that the said capital be entirely reimbursed within the space of five years, the payments to be made at ten equal periods, the first to begin the sixth year after the date of the loan, and from that time, during every year till the final payment of the said sum; but it is likewise acknowledged by the present act, that this engagement has been entered into by the king, on the entreaty of the underwritten minister of the United States, and upon the promise made by him in the name of the Congress, and on the part of the Thirteen United States, to reimburse and pay into the royal treasury of his majesty at Paris, the capital, interest, and expences of the said loan, agreeable to the conditions and terms fixed by the convention of the 5th of November 1781.

Art. VII. It has been agreed upon, and regulated in consequence, that the said sum of ten millions of livres Tournois, making, at a moderate estimate, five millions of Dutch florins, as above mentioned, shall be reimbursed and paid into his majesty's royal treasury at Paris, with the interest at five per cent. in ten equal payments of one million each, and at the several periods, the first of which shall be made on the 5th of November 1787, and thus from year to year till the final payment of the said sum of ten millions, the interest diminishing in proportion with the partial payments of the capital. But from the regard which his majesty bears to the United States, he has been pleased to take upon himself the expence of the commission, and of banking, attending the said loan, of which expence his majesty makes a present to the said United States; and their underwritten minister accepts, with thanks, in the name of the Congress, as an additional proof of his majesty's generosity, and of his friendship for the United States.

Art. VIII. With respect to the interest on the said loan, as the king had engaged to pay, during the five years preceding the first reimbursement of the capital, four per cent. on the whole, into the general office of the States General of the Netherlands, annually from the 5th of November 1781, agreeable to the convention entered into on that day, the minister of Congress acknowledges that the reimbursements of the said interest is due to his majesty from the United States; and he engages, in the name of the said states, to cause the payment thereof to be made at the same rate into the royal treasury of his majesty; the interest of the first year to be paid on the 4th of next November, and so on annually during five years preceding the first payment of the capital, fixed on as above, for the 5th of November 1787.

The high contracting parties reciprocally bind themselves to the faithful observance of this contract, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged within the space of nine months from the date hereof, if possible. In faith of which, we the said plenipotentiaries of his Most Christian Majesty, and of the Thirteen United States of North America, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed these presents, and thereto put the seal of our arms.

Given at Versailles, the 16th of July, 1782.

[Signed] C. G. DE VERGENNES, (L. S.)  
B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)

Be it known to all and every one, that we the said United States assembled in Congress, penetrated with the most lively ideas of the generosity and affection manifested by his Most Christian Majesty in the above contract, have ratified and confirmed it; and by these presents we do ratify and confirm the said contract, and every article and clause therein. And we do by these presents authorise our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, to remit our present act of ratification, in exchange for the ratification of the said contract on the part of his Most Christian Majesty.

In faith of which we have caused our seal to be affixed hereunto, in presence of his excellency Elias Boudinot, president, this 22d of January, in the year of grace 1783, and the 7th of our sovereignty and independence.

## No. II.

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH TO BOTH  
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

ON THE

OPENING OF THE SESSION, DEC. 5, 1782.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

SINCE the close of the last sessions, I have employed my whole time in the care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of public affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion—language—interest—affections, may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end, neither attention nor disposition shall be wanting on my part.

While I have carefully abstained from all offensive operations against America I have directed my whole force by land and sea against the other powers at war, with as much vigour as the situation of that force, at the commencement of the campaign, would permit. I trust that you feel the advantages resulting from the safety of the great branches of our trade. You must have seen, with pride and satisfaction, the gallant defence of the governor and the garrison of Gibraltar; and my fleet, after having effected the object of their destination, offering battle to the combined force of France and Spain on their own coasts; those of my kingdoms have remained, at the same time, perfectly secure, and your domestic tranquillity uninterrupted. This respectable state, under the blessing of God, I attribute to the entire confidence which subsists between me and my people, and to the readiness which has been shewn by my subjects in my city of London, and in other parts of my kingdoms, to stand forth in the general defence. Some proofs have lately been given of public spirit in private men, which would do honour to any age, and any country.

Having manifested to the whole world, by the most lasting examples, the signal spirit and bravery of my people, I conceived it a moment not unbecoming my dignity, and thought it a regard due to the lives and fortunes of such brave and gallant subjects, to shew myself ready on my part, to embrace fair and honourable terms of accommodation with all the powers at war.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that negociations to this effect are considerably advanced, the result of which, as soon as they are brought to a conclusion, shall be immediately communicated to you.

I have every reason to hope and believe, that I shall have it in my power in a very short time to acquaint you, that they have ended in terms of pacification, which, I trust, you will see just cause to approve. I rely however with perfect confidence on the wisdom of my parliament, and the spirit of my people, that if any unforeseen change in the dispositions of the belligerent powers should frustrate my confident expectations, they will approve of the preparations I have thought it advisable to make, and be ready to second the most vigorous efforts in the further prosecution of the war.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I have endeavoured, by every measure in my power, to diminish the burthens of my people. I lost no time in taking the most decided measures for introducing a better œconomy into the expenditure of the army.

I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil-list expences, directed by an act of the last sessions. I have introduced a further reform into other departments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them. I have, by this means, so regulated my establishments, that my expence shall not in future exceed my income.

I have ordered the estimate of the civil-list debt, laid before you last sessions, to be completed. The debt proving greater than could be then correctly stated, and the proposed reduction not immediately taking place, I trust you will provide for the deficiency, securing, as before, the repayment out of my annual income.

I have ordered enquiry to be made into the application of the sum voted in support of the American sufferers; and I trust that you will agree with me, that a due and generous attention ought to be shewn to those who have relinquished their properties or professions from motives of loyalty to me, or attachment to the mother country.

As it may be necessary to give stability to some regulations by act of parliament, I have ordered accounts of the several establishments, incidental expences, fees and other emoluments of office, to be laid before you. Regulations have already taken place in some, which it is my intention to extend to all, and which, besides expediting all public business, must produce a very considerable saving, without taking from that ample encouragement which ought to be held forth to talents, diligence, and integrity, wherever they are to be found.

I have directed an inquiry to be made into whatever regards the landed revenue of my crown, as well as the management of my woods and forests, that both may be made as beneficial as possible, and that the latter may furnish a certain resource for supplying the navy, our great national bulwark, with its first material.

I have directed an investigation into the department of the Mint, that the purity of the coin, of so much importance to commerce, may be always adhered to; that by rendering the difficulty of counterfeiting greater, the lives of numbers may be saved, and every needless expence in it suppressed.

I must recommend to you an immediate attention to the great objects of the public receipts and expenditure, and above all, to the state of the public debt. Notwithstanding the great increase of it during the war, it is to be hoped that such regulations may be still established, such savings made, and future loans so conducted, as to promote the means of its gradual redemption by a fixed course of payment. I must, with particular earnestness, distinguish, for your serious consideration, that part of the debt which consists of navy, ordnance, and victualling bills: the enormous discount upon some of these bills shews this mode of payment to be a most ruinous expedient.

I have ordered the several estimates, made up as correctly as the present practice admits, to be laid before you. I hope that such further corrections as may be necessary will be made before the next year. It is my desire, that you should be apprised of every expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature of each service can possibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

The scarcity, and consequent high price of corn, requires your instant interposition.

The great excess to which the crimes of theft and robbery, in many instances accompanied with personal violence, particularly in the neighbourhood of this metropolis, has called of late for a strict and severe execution of the laws. It were much to be wished that these crimes could be prevented in their infancy, by correcting the vices become prevalent in a most alarming degree.

The liberal principles adopted by you, concerning the rights and the commerce of Ireland, have done you the highest honour, and will, I trust, ensure that harmony which ought always to subsist between the two kingdoms. I am persuaded, that a general increase of commerce throughout the empire, will prove the wisdom of your measures with regard to that object. I would recommend to you a revision of our whole trading system upon the same comprehensive principles, with a view to its utmost possible extension.

The regulation of a vast territory in Asia, opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight. I trust that you will be able to frame some fundamental laws, which may make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India; and that you will take therein proper measures to give all foreign nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire and perfect confidence in the probity, punctuality, and good order of our government. You may be assured that whatever depends upon me, shall be executed with a steadiness, which can alone preserve that part of my dominions, or the commerce which arises from it.

It is the fixed object of my heart to make the general good, and the true spirit of the constitution, the invariable rule of my conduct, and on all occasions to advance and reward merit in every profession.

To ensure the full advantage of a government conducted on such principles, depends on your temper, your wisdom, your disinterestedness, collectively and individually.

My people expect these qualifications of you; and I call for them.

### NO. III.

#### DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY

AND

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.*

**I**T having pleased the divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the provisional articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic Majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been

concluded, his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esqr. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esqr. late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esqr. late delegate in Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; and John Jay, Esq. late president of Congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who, after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

Art. I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey; Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

Art. II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraugy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philapeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St Mary's River, and thence down the middle of St Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river from St Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St Laurence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

Art. III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulph of St Laurence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore

to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

Art. IV. It is agreed that the Creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money on all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

Art. V. It is agreed that congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the *bona fide* price, (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage-settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

Art. VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

Art. VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said United States and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, or fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbour, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

Art. VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Art. IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or to the United States should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said Provisional Articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. X. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six



months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present Definitive Treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

|                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>David Hartley.</i> | (L. S.) |
| <i>John Adams.</i>    | (L. S.) |
| <i>B. Franklin.</i>   | (L. S.) |
| <i>John Jay.</i>      | (L. S.) |

## No. IV.

## RATIFICATION OF PEACE BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS,

AND

## THEIR RECOMMENDATION OF THE LOYALISTS,

*Agreeable to the Fifth Article.*

By the United States in Congress assembled,

## A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS definitive articles of peace and friendship, between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty were concluded and signed at Paris, on the 3d day of September 1783, by the Plenipotentiaries of the said United States, and of his Britannic Majesty, duly and respectively authorised for that purpose; which definitive articles are in the words following.—Vid. No. III. p. 6.

And we the United States in Congress assembled, having seen and duly considered the definitive articles aforesaid, did by a certain act under the seal of the United States, bearing date this 14th day January 1784, approve, ratify, and confirm the same, and every part and clause thereof, engaging and promising that we would sincerely and faithfully perform and observe the same, and never suffer them to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner as far as should be in our power: and being sincerely disposed to carry the said articles into execution truly, honestly, and with good faith, according to the intent and meaning thereof, we have thought proper, by these presents, to notify the premises to all good citizens of these United States, hereby requiring and enjoining all bodies of magistracy, legislative, executive, and judiciary, all persons bearing office, civil or military, of whatever rank, degree, or powers, and all others the good citizens of these states of every vocation and condition, that reverencing those stipulations entered into on their behalf, under the authority of the federal bond by which their existence as an independent people is bound up together, and is known and acknowledged by the nations of the world, and with that good faith which is every man's surest guide, within their several offices, jurisdictions, and vocations, they carry into effect the said definitive articles, and every clause and sentiment thereof, sincerely, strictly, and completely.

Given under the seal of the United States. Witness his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, our President, at Annapolis, this 14th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.

CHARLES THOMSON Sec.

And, in compliance with the 5th article of the treaty alluded to in the foregoing proclamation, they resolve unanimously, nine states present,—That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts which were in possession of his Britannic Majesty's arms, at any time between the 30th day of November 1782, and the 14th day of January 1784, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other descriptions shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested, in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated —And it is also hereby earnestly recommended to the several states, to re-consider and revise all their acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And it is hereby also earnestly recommended to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last-mentioned persons should be restored to them, they refunding to any person who may be now in possession, the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the said confiscation.

## No. V.

### DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY

AND

THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING.

*In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.*

**B**E it known to all those whom it shall or may concern. The most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent Prince Lewis the Sixteenth, by the grace of God, Most Christian King, being equally desirous to put an end to the war which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their majesties, the Emperor of the Romans, and the Empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation; but their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said majesties the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their Imperial Majesties a signal proof of gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties. Their said Imperial Majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their representatives, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Florimond, count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, ba-

son of Crichégneé, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy counsellor of state to his Imperial and royal Apostolic Majesty, and his ambassador to his Most Christian Majesty; and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatinofkoy, Lieutenant-General of the forces of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St Anne, and of the Swedish Sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and the lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counsellor of state to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty. In consequence, their said Majesties the King of Great Britain, and the Most Christian King, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the King of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and the Most Christian King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Charles Gravier, count de Vergennes, baron of Welsferding, &c. the king's counsellor in all his councils, commander in his orders, president of the royal council of finances, counsellor of state military, minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances: who after having exchanged their respective full powers have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects and vassals, of what quality and condition whatsoever they be, without exception either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose they were all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were herein inserted word for word; and so they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; each crown respectively discharging the advantages which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side: and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored *bona fide*, with

all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. His Majesty the King of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent islands, as the whole were assured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, excepting the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in full right by the present treaty to his Most Christian Majesty.

Art. V. His Majesty the Most Christian King, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforesaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his Majesty the King of Great Britain consents on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, beginning at the said Cape St John passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees, fifty minutes latitude. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

Art. VI. With regard to the fishery in the gulf of St Laurence, the French shall continue to exercise it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

Art. VII. The King of Great Britain restores to France the island of St Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the British arms; and his Britannic Majesty cedes and guaranties to his Most Christian Majesty the island of Tobago. The Protestant inhabitants of the said island, as well as those of the same religion, who shall have settled at St Lucia, whilst that island was occupied by the British arms, shall not be molested in the exercise of their worship; and the British inhabitants, or others who may have been subjects of the King of Great Britain in the aforesaid islands, shall retain their possessions upon the same titles and conditions by which they have acquired them, or else they may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think fit, and shall have the power of selling their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, and of removing their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. And for the better securing the possessions of the inhabitants of the aforesaid island of Tobago, the Most Christian King shall issue letters patent, containing an abolition of the droit d'aubaine in the said island.

Art. VIII. The Most Christian King restores to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St Vincent's, Dominica, St Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of these islands shall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conquest of them was made. The same stipulations inserted in the preceding article shall take place in favour of the French subjects, with respect to the islands enumerated in the present article.

Art. IX. The King of Great Britain cedes, in full right, and guarantie, to his Most Christian Majesty, the river Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic Majesty restores to France the island of Goree, which shall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conquest of it was made.

Art. X. The Most Christian King, on his part, guaranties to the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

Art. XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St John, to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

Art. XII. As to the residue of the coast of Africa, the English and French subjects shall continue to resort thereto, according to the usage which has hitherto prevailed.

Art. XIII. The King of Great Britain restores to his Most Christian Majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Oriza, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters; and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Oriza, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East India Company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a company.

Art. XIV. Pondicherry shall be in like manner delivered up and guaranteed to France, as also Karikal: and his Britannic Majesty shall secure, for an additional dependency to Pondicherry, the two districts of Velanour and Bahour; and to Karikal, the Four Magans bordering thereupon.

Art. XV. France shall re-enter into the possession of Mahe, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French shall carry on their trade, on this part of India, conformably to the principles established in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

Art. XVI. Orders having been sent to India by the high contracting parties, in pursuance of the sixteenth article of the preliminaries, it is further agreed, that if, within the term of four months, the respective allies of their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties shall not have acceded to the present pacification, or concluded a separate accommodation, their said Majesties shall not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies, such as they were in the year 1776.

Art. XVII. The King of Great Britain, being desirous to give to his Most Christian Majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and to contribute to render solid the peace re-established between their said Majesties, consents to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusive, to this day.

Art. XVIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January, in the year 1784.

Art. XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of his Most Christian Majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of colonies, nor under the head of restitution, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. XX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the King of Great Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done; St Lucia (one of the Charibee islands) and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The King of Great Britain shall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, enter again into the possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St Vincent's, Dominica, St Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. France shall be put in possession of the towns and factories which are restored to her in the East Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as additional dependencies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, six months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. France shall deliver up, at the end of the like term of six months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English, or their allies, in the East Indies. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XXI. The decision of the prizes and seizures made prior to the hostilities shall be referred to the respective courts of justice; so that the legality of

the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures.

Art. XXII. For preventing the revival of the law suits which have been ended in the islands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

Art. XXIII. Their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly, or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Art. XXIV. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their names, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third day of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.*  
*Manchester.*

(L. S.)  
(L. S.)

## SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and other instruments, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty; not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice should ever result therefrom to either of the said contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, upon occasion of the said negotiation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the present treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.*  
*Manchester.*

(L. S.)  
(L. S.)

## DECLARATION.

The King having entirely agreed with his most Christian Majesty upon the articles of the definitive treaty, will seek every means which shall not only ensure the execution thereof, with his accustomed good faith and punctuality, but will besides give, on his part, all possible efficacy to the principles which shall prevent even the least foundation of dispute for the future.

To this end, and in order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, his Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it which is granted to them, upon the coasts of the island of Newfoundland; and he will, for this purpose, cause the fixed settlements, which shall be formed there; to be removed. His Britannic Majesty will give orders that the French fishermen be not incommoded, in cutting the wood necessary for the repair of their scaffolds, huts, and fishing vessels.

The thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fishery which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there; it shall not be deviated from by either party; the French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing vessels, and not wintering there; the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, on their part, not molesting, in any manner, the French fishermen, during their fishing, nor injuring their scaffolds during their absence.

The King of Great Britain, in ceding the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon to France, regards them as ceded for the purpose of serving as a real shelter to the French fishermen, and in full confidence that these possessions will not become an object of jealousy between the two nations; and that the fishery between the said islands, and that of Newfoundland, shall be limited to the middle of the channel.

With regard to India, Great Britain having granted to France every thing that can ascertain and confirm the trade which the latter requires to carry on there, his Majesty relies with confidence on the repeated assurances of the court of Versailles, that the power of surrounding Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters, shall not be exercised in such a manner as to make it become an object of umbrage.

The new state in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand revisions and explanations of the subsisting treaties; but an entire abrogation of those treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into such confusion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In some of the treaties of this sort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which ensure reciprocally, to the respective subjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, personal protections, and other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, such as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandise, variable from circumstances of every kind.

When therefore the state of the trade between the two nations shall be treated upon, it is requisite to be understood, that the alterations which may be made in the subsisting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preserved on each side, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his Majesty has consented to the appointment of commissaries, on each side, who shall treat solely upon this object.

In witness whereof, we his Britannic Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, being thereto duly authorized, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be set thereto.

Given at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Manchester.*

(L.S.)

## COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE principles, which have guided the King in the whole course of the negotiations which preceded the re-establishment of peace, must have convinced the King of Great Britain, that his Majesty has had no other design than to render it solid and lasting, by preventing, as much as possible, in the four quarters of the world, every subject of discussion and quarrel. The King of Great Britain undoubtedly places too much confidence in the uprightness of his Majesty's intentions, not to rely upon his constant attention to prevent the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, from becoming an object of jealousy between the two nations.

As to the fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland, which has been the object of the new arrangements settled by the two sovereigns upon this matter, it is sufficiently ascertained by the fifth article of the treaty of peace signed this day, and by the declaration likewise delivered to-day, by his Britannic Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary; and his Majesty declares, that he is fully satisfied on this head.

In regard to the fishery between the island of Newfoundland, and those of St. Pierre and Miquelon, it is not to be carried on by either party, but to the middle of the channel; and his Majesty will give the most positive orders, that the French fishermen shall not go beyond this line. His Majesty is firmly persuaded that the King of Great Britain will give like orders to the English fishermen.

The King's desire to maintain the peace comprehends India as well as the other parts of the world; his Britannic Majesty may therefore be assured, that his Majesty will never permit that an object so inoffensive, and so harmless, as the ditch with which Chandernagore is to be surrounded, should give an umbrage to the court of London.

The King, in proposing new arrangements of commerce, had no other design than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in the treaty of commerce signed at Utrecht, in one thousand seven hundred and thirteen. The King of Great Britain may judge from hence, that his Majesty's intention is not in any wise to cancel all the stipulations in the above-mentioned treaty; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is disposed to maintain all the privileges, facilities, and advantages expressed in that treaty, as far as they shall be reciprocal, or compensated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, desired on each side, that commissaries are to be appointed to treat upon the state of the trade between the two nations, and that a considerable space of time is to be allowed for completing their work. His Majesty hopes that this object will be pursued with the same good faith, and the same spirit of conciliation, which presided over the discussion of all the other points comprised in the definitive treaty; and his said Majesty is firmly persuaded, that the respective commissaries will employ the utmost diligence for the completion of this important work.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister plenipotentiary of his Most Christian Majesty, being thereto duly authorized have signed the present counter-declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be fixed thereto.

Given at Versailles the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.*

(L.S.)

We, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed,



We, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte de Mercy Argenteau.*

(L.S.)

We, ministers plenipotentiary of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Prince Iwan Bariatinofsky.*

(L.S.)

*A. Marcaff.*

(L.S.)

## No. VI.

### DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY

AND

THE KING OF SPAIN.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

**B**E it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent Prince Charles the Third, by the grace of God, King of Spain, and of the Indies, &c. being equally desirous to put an end to the war which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their Majesties the Emperor of the Romans, and the Empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation; but their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said Majesties the King of Great Britain and the Catholic King, thinking it incumbent

upon them to give their Imperial Majesties a signal proof of their gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties. Their said Imperial Majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their representatives, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Florimond, count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, baron of Crichegnée, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy counsellor of state to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and his ambassador to his Most Christian Majesty; and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatinofsky, Lieutenant-General of the forces of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St Anne, and of the Swedish Sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and the lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counsellor of state to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty. In consequence, their said Majesties the King of Great Britain, and the Most Christian King, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the King of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and the Catholic King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Peter Paul Abarca de Bolea Ximenes d'Urrea, &c. count of Aranda and Castel Florido, Marquis of Torres, of Villanan and Rapit, viscount of Rueda and Yoch, baron of the Baronies of Gavin, Sietamo, Clamofa, Eripol Trazmoz, La Marta de Castil Viejo, Antillon La Almolda, Cortés, Jorva, St Genis, Rabovillet, Arcau, and Ste. Colome de Farnés, lord of the Tenance and honour of Alcalatém, the valley of Rodella, the castles and towns of Maella, Mesones, Tiurana, and Villa Plana, Taradel and Viladrau, &c. Rico-Hombre in Arragon by descent, Grandee of Spain of the first class, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghost, Gentleman of the King's chamber in employment, Captain General of his forces, and his ambassador to the Most Christian King; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, that reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, and endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid of 1667, and of 1670; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; of Madrid of 1715; of Seville of 1729; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; the treaty of Madrid of 1750; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, and particularly all those which are specified and renewed in the aforesaid definitive treaty of Paris, in the best form, and as if they were herein inserted word for word: so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed, by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given, during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the present treaty; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right to his Catholic Majesty, the island of Minorca; provided that the same stipulations inserted in the following article shall take place in favour of the British subjects, with regard to the above mentioned island.

Art. V. His Britannic Majesty likewise cedes and guaranties, in full right to his Catholic Majesty, East Florida as also West Florida. His Catholic Majesty agrees that the British inhabitants, or others who may have been subjects of the King of Great Britain in the said countries, may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, and remove their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but if, from the value of the possessions of the English proprietors, they should not be able to dispose of them within the said term, then his Catholic Majesty shall grant them a prolongation proportionate to that end. It is further stipulated, that his Britannic Majesty shall have the power of removing from East Florida all the effects which may belong to him, whether artillery or other matters.

Art. VI. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent as much as possible, all the causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dying, or logwood; and several English settlements having been formed and extended, under that pretence, upon the Spanish continent; it is expressly agreed, that his Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood, in the district lying between the rivers Wallis or Bellizie, and Rio-Hondo, taking the course of the said two rivers for unalterable boundaries, so as that the navigation of them be common to both nations, to wit, by the river Wallis or Bellizie, from the sea, ascending as far as opposite to a lake or inlet which runs into the land, and forms an isthmus, or neck, with another similar inlet, which comes from the side of Rio-Nuevo or New-River; so that the line of separation shall pass strait across the said isthmus, and meet another lake formed by the water of Rio-Nuevo or New River at its current. The said line shall continue with the course of the Rio-Nuevo, descending as far as opposite to a river, the source of which is marked in the map, between Rio-Nuevo and Rio-Hondo, and which empties itself into Rio-Hondo; which river shall also serve as a common boundary as far as its junction with Rio-Hondo; and from thence descending by Rio-Hondo to the sea, as the whole is marked on the map which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns have thought proper to make use of for ascertaining the points agreed upon; to the end, that a good correspondence may reign between the two nations, and that the English workmen, cutters, and labourers may not trespass from an uncertainty of the boundaries. The respective commissaries shall fix upon convenient places, in the territory above marked out, in order that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, employed in the selling of logwood, may, without interruption, build therein houses and magazines necessary for themselves, their families, and their effects; and his Catholic Majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed in the present article, provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in any wise from his rights of sovereignty. Therefore all the English, who may be dispersed in any other parts, whether on the Spanish continent, or in any of the islands whatever, dependent on the aforesaid Spanish continent, and for whatever reason it might be, without exception, shall retire within the district which has been above described, in the space

of eighteen months, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications; and for this purpose, orders shall be issued on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and on that of his Catholic Majesty, his governors shall be ordered to grant to the English dispersed every convenience possible for their removing to the settlement agreed upon by the present article, or for their retiring wherever they shall think proper. It is likewise stipulated, that if any fortifications should actually have been heretofore erected within the limits marked out, his Britannic Majesty shall cause them all to be demolished; and he will order his subjects not to build any new ones. The English inhabitants, who shall settle there for the cutting of logwood, shall be permitted to enjoy a free fishery for their subsistence, on the coasts of their district above agreed on, or of the islands situated opposite thereto, without being in any wise disturbed on that account; provided they do not establish themselves, in any manner, on the said islands.

Art. VII. His Catholic Majesty shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the King of Spain. The same stipulations inserted in the fifth article of this treaty shall take place in favour of the Spanish subjects, with regard to the islands mentioned in the present article.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of his Catholic Majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January 1784.

Art. X. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The king of Great Britain shall in like manner enter again into possession of the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide* all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Art. XII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in the city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the undersigned ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands in their names, and by virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third day of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte d'Aranda.* (L. S.)  
*Manchester.* (L. S.)

## SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and other instruments, during the course of the negotiation,

as in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice should ever result therefrom to either of the said contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, upon occasion, of the said negotiation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or, in any manner, prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the present treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, of their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte d'Aranda.*  
*Mauchester.*

(L. S.)  
(L. S.)

## DECLARATION.

THE new state in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand revisions and explanations of the subsisting treaties; but an entire abrogation of those treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into such confusion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In some of the treaties of this sort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which ensure reciprocally, to the respective subjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, personal protections, and other advantages, which are not and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, such as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandize, variable from circumstances of every kind.

When therefore the state of the trade between the two nations shall be treated upon, it is requisite to be understood, that the alterations which may be made in the subsisting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preserved on each side, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his Majesty has consented to the appointment of commissaries on each side, who shall treat solely upon this object.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Mauchester.*

(L. S.)

## COUNTER-DECLARATION.

The Catholic King, in proposing new arrangements of commerce, has had no other design than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in preceding treaties of commerce. The King of Great Britain may judge from thence, that the intention of his Catholic Majesty is not in any manner to cancel all the stipulations contained in the above-mentioned treaties; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is disposed to maintain all the privileges, facilities and advantages expressed in the old treaties, as far as they shall be reciprocal, or compensated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, desired on each side, that commissaries are to be named to treat upon the state of

trade between the two nations, and that a considerable space of time is to be allowed for completing their work. His Catholic Majesty hopes that this subject will be pursued with the same good faith, and with the same spirit of conciliation, which have presided over the discussion of all the other points included in the definitive treaty; and his said Majesty is equally confident, that the respective commissioners will employ the utmost diligence for the completion of this important work.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte D'Aranda.* (L. S.)

WE, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, this third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte de Mercy Argenteau.* (L. S.)

WE, ministers plenipotentiary of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace, signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Prince Iwan Bariatinofsky.* (L. S.)  
*A. Marcaff.*

## NO. VII.

### PRELIMINARY ARTICLES OF PEACE

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY

AND

THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

*In the name of the Most Holy Trinity.*

THE King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Provinces, animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have already authorized their respective ministers plenipotentiary to sign mutual declara-

tions for a suspension of arms; and being willing to re-establish union and good understanding between the two nations, as necessary for the benefit of humanity in general, as for that of their respective dominions and subjects, have named for this purpose; to wit; on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the most illustrious and excellent lord George duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, &c. his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and on the part of their High Mightinesses the States General, the most excellent lords Matthew Lestevenon de Berkenroode, and Gerard Brantzen, respectively their ambassador, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiaries: who, after having duly communicated their full powers in good form, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles.

Art. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty, his kingdoms, dominions and subjects, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their dominions and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception, either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing which may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the Republic towards those of his Britannic Majesty, the same custom shall be respectively followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of exchange of the ratifications of these preliminary articles; each power respectively discharging the advance which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to receipts, attested accounts and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes; and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preliminary treaty.

Art. IV. The States General of the United Provinces cede and guaranty, in full right to his Britannic Majesty, the town of Negapatnam, with the dependencies thereof; but in consideration of the importance which the States General of the United Provinces annex to the possession of the aforesaid town, the King of Great Britain, as a proof of his good will towards the said States, promises, notwithstanding this cession, to receive and treat with them for the restitution of the said town, in case the States should hereafter have an equivalent to offer to him.

Art. V. The King of Great Britain shall restore to the States General of the United Provinces, Trinqueemale, as also all the other towns, forts, harbours, and settlements, which in the course of the present war, have been conquered, in any part of the world whatever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, or by those of the English East India Company, and of which he might be in possession; the whole in the condition in which they shall be found.

Art. VI. The States General of the United Provinces, promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the eastern seas.

Art. VII. Whereas differences have arisen between the English African Company and the Dutch West India Company, relative to the navigation on the coasts of Africa, as also on the subject of Cape Apollonia; for preventing all cause of complaint between the subjects of the two nations upon those coasts, it is agreed that commissaries shall be named, on each side, to make suitable arrangements on these points.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of the States General, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. IX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made, it is agreed that the King of Great Britain shall cause Trincomalee to be evacuated, as well as all the towns, forts, and territories which have been taken by his arms and of which he may be in possession, excepting what is ceded to his Britannic majesty by those articles, at the same periods as the restitutions and evacuations shall be made between Great Britain and France. The States General shall restore at the same period the towns and territories which their arms may have taken from the English in the East Indies. In consequence of which, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of these preliminary articles.

Art. X. His Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the aforesaid States General, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in this present preliminary treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present articles.

Art. XI. The ratifications of the present preliminary articles, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our full powers, the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, the second day of September, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Leffevenon van Berkenrood.*

(L. S.)

*Mancheffer.*

(L. S.)

*Brantlin.*

(L. S.)



## No. VIII.

*Treaty of perpetual Friendship and Alliance between the Honourable East India Company and the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, settled by Mr David Anderson on the part of the Honourable Company, in Virtue of the Powers delegated to him for that purpose, by the Honourable the Governor General and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, to direct and controul all the political affairs of the Hon. English East India Company in India; and by Mahab Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia, as plenipotentiary on the part of the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, Ballajee Pundit Nana Furnavese, and the whole of the Chiefs of the Mahratta Nation, agreeably to the following Articles, which shall be for ever binding on their Heirs and Successors, and the Conditions of them to be invariably observed by both Parties.*

Art. I. **I**T is stipulated and agreed to between the Hon. the English East India Company and the Peshwa, through the mediation of Madhoo Row Scindia, that all countries, places, cities, and forts, including Bassien, &c. which have been taken from the Peshwa, during the war that has arisen since the treaty settled by Colonel Upton, and have come into the possession of the English, shall be delivered up to the Peshwa. The territories, forts, cities, &c. to be restored, shall be delivered within the space of two months from the period when this treaty shall become complete (as hereafter described) to such persons as the Peshwa, or his minister Nana Furnavese shall appoint.

Art. II. It is agreed between the English company and the Peshwa, that Salsette, and three other islands, viz. Elephanta, Caranja, and Hog, which are included in the treaty of Colonel Upton, shall continue forever in the possession of the English. If any other islands shall be taken in the course of the present war, they shall be delivered up to the Peshwa.

Art. III. Whereas it was stipulated in the 4th article of the treaty of Col. Upton, "That the Peshwa and all the Chiefs of the Mahratta state do agree to give the English company for ever all right and title to the city Baroach, as full and complete as ever they collected from the Moguls or otherwise, without retaining any claim of Chout, or any other claims whatever; so that the English company shall possess it without participation or claim of any kind"—This article is accordingly continued in full force and effect.

Art. IV. The Peshwa having formerly, in the treaty of Colonel Upton, agreed by way of friendship, to give up to the English a country of three lacks of rupees near Baroach, the English do now, at the request of Madhoo Row Scindia, consent to relinquish their claim to the said country in favour of the Peshwa.

Art V. The country which Seeajee and Futty Sing Gwickwar gave to the English, and which is mentioned in the 7th article of the treaty with Colonel Upton, being therein left in a state of suspense; the English with a view to obviate all future disputes, now agree, that it shall be restored; and it is hereby settled, that, if the said country be a part of the established territory of the Gwickwar, it shall be restored to the Gwickwar; and if it shall be a part of the Peshwa's territories, it shall be restored to the Peshwa.

Art. VI. The English engage, that having allowed Ragonaut Row a period of four months, from the time which this treaty shall become complete, to fix on a place of residence, they will not after the expiration of the said period afford him any support, protection, or assistance, nor supply him with money for his expenses: and the Peshwa on his part engages, that if Ragonaut Row will voluntarily, and of his own accord, repair to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia,

and quietly reside with him, the sum of 25,000 rupees per month shall be paid him for his maintenance, and no injury whatever shall be offered to him by the Peshwa, or any of his people.

Art. VII. The Hon. English East India Company and the Peshwa being desirous that their respective allies shall be included in this peace, it is hereby mutually stipulated, that each party shall make peace with the allies of the other in the manner herein after specified.

Art. VIII. The territory which has long been the established jagheer of Seajre Gwickwar, and Putty Sing Gwickwar, that is to say, whatever territory Putty Sing Gwickwar possessed at the commencement of the present war, shall hereafter for ever remain on the usual footing in his possession; and the said Putty Sing shall, from the date of this treaty being complete, pay for the future to the Peshwa the tribute as usual, previous to the present war; and shall perform such services, and be subject to such obedience as have long been established, and customary. No claims shall be made on the said Putty Sing, by the Peshwa, for the period that is past.

Art. IX. The Peshwa engages, that whereas the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, having concluded a treaty with him, hath disturbed and taken possession of territories belonging to the English and their allies, he shall be made to relinquish them, and they shall be restored to the Company and the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn. All prisoners that have been taken on either side during the war, shall be released, and Hyder Ally Cawn shall be made to relinquish all such territories belonging to the English Company, and their allies, as he may have taken possession of since the ninth of the month Ramzan, in the year 1180, being the date of his treaty with the Peshwa; and the said territories shall be delivered over to the English, and the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, within six months after this treaty being complete; and the English in such case agreed, that so long as Hyder Ally Cawn shall afterwards abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and so long as he shall continue in friendship with the Peshwa, that they will, in no respect, act hostilely towards him.

Art. X. The Peshwa engaged on his own behalf, as well as on behalf of the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Bousala, Syna Saheb Souba, and the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, that they shall in every respect maintain peace towards the English and their allies the Nabob Asophul Dowlah Behader, and the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Behader, and shall in no respect whatever give them any disturbance. The English engage on their own behalf, as well as on the behalf of their allies the Nabob Asophul Dowlah, and the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, that they shall in every respect maintain peace towards the Peshwa, and his allies the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Bousala, and Syna Saheb; and the English further engage on their own behalf as well as on the behalf of their allies, that they will maintain peace also towards the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, under the conditions specified in the 9th article of this treaty.

Art. XI. The Hon. the East India Company, and the Peshwa mutually agree, that the vessels of each shall offer no disturbance to the navigation of the vessels of each other; and the vessels of each shall be allowed access to the ports of the other, where they shall meet with no molestation, and the fullest protection shall be reciprocally afforded.

Art. XII. The Peshwa, and the Chiefs of the Mahratta state, hereby agree, that the English shall enjoy the privilege of trade as formerly, in the Mahratta territories, and shall meet with no kind of interruption; and in the same manner, the East India Company agree, that the subjects of the Peshwa shall be allowed the privileges of trade without interruption in the territories of the English.

Art. XIII. The Peshwa hereby engages, that he will not suffer any factories, or other European nations to be established in his territories, or those of the Chiefs dependent on him, excepting only such as are already established by the Portuguese; and he will hold no intercourse of friendship with any other European nations; and the English on their part agree, that they will not afford assistance to any nation of Deccan, or Hindoostan at enmity with the Peshwa.

Art. XIV. The English and the Peshwa mutually agree, that neither will afford any kind of assistance to the enemies of the other.

Art. XV. The Hon. the Governor General and Council of Fort William engage, that they will not permit any of the Chiefs, dependents, or subjects of the English, the gentlemen of Bombay, Surat, or Madras to act contrary, at any place to the terms of this treaty. In the same manner the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdham engages, that none of the Chiefs or subjects of the Mahratta state shall act contrary to them.

Art. XVI. The Hon. East India Company, and the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdham, having the fullest confidence in Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia Behader, they have both requested the said Maha Rajah to be the mutual guarantee for the perpetual and invariable adherence of both parties to the conditions of this treaty; and the said Madhoo Row Scindia, from a regard to the welfare of both states, hath taken upon himself the mutual guarantee. If either of the parties shall deviate from the conditions of this treaty, the said Maha Rajah will join the other party, and will, to the utmost of his power, endeavour to bring the aggressor to a proper understanding.

Art. XVII. It is hereby agreed, that whatever territories, forts or cities in Guzerat, were granted by Ragonaut Row to the English, previous to the treaty of Col. Upton, and have come into their possession, the restitution of which was stipulated in the 7th article of the said treaty, shall be restored, agreeable to the terms of the said treaty.

This treaty, consisting of seventeen articles, is settled at Salbey, in the camp of Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia, on the 4th of the month Jemmad ul Saany, in the year 1187 of the Hiegera, corresponding with the 17th of May 1782, of the Christian æra, by the said Maha Raja, and Mr David Anderson. A copy hereof shall be sent, by each of the above named persons, to their respective principals at Fort William, and Poonah; and on both copies being returned, the one under the seal of the Hon. the East India company, and signature of the Hon. Governor General and council of Fort William, shall be delivered to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia Behader, and the other under the seal of the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdham, and the signature of Ballagee Pundit Nana Furnavese, shall be delivered to Mr Anderson; this treaty shall be deemed complete and ratified, and the articles herein contained shall become binding on both the contracting parties.

(Written in the Mahratta character, by Ragoo Bhoo Dewan.) "In all seventeen articles, on the 4th of Jemmad ul Akher, or the 5th of Jeyt Adeck, in the Shukul Pattah, in the year 1182a."

Subscribed in the Mahratta character, by Mahajee Scindia on the same day.

Agreed to what is above written,

(Signed)

Witnesses,

A true translation,

J. ANDERSON,

Assistant to the Embassy.

D. ANDERSON.


{ JAS. ANDERSON.

{ WM. BLAIN.

"Subscribed in the hand-writing of Nana Furnavese" Done by me Bellajee Inardine, on the 15th of Mohurram, in the year 1183, (December 20 1782,) under the small seal of the Peshwa, ratified also by Scindia, the 21st of Rabbie ul Owul, counter-part subscribed by Mr Anderson, the 24th of February 1783.



# I N D E X.

 The numbers i. and ii. refer to the two volumes of the *Continuation of Smollett's History*, being the 7th and 8th volumes of the *Continuation of Hume*; N. refers to the notes.

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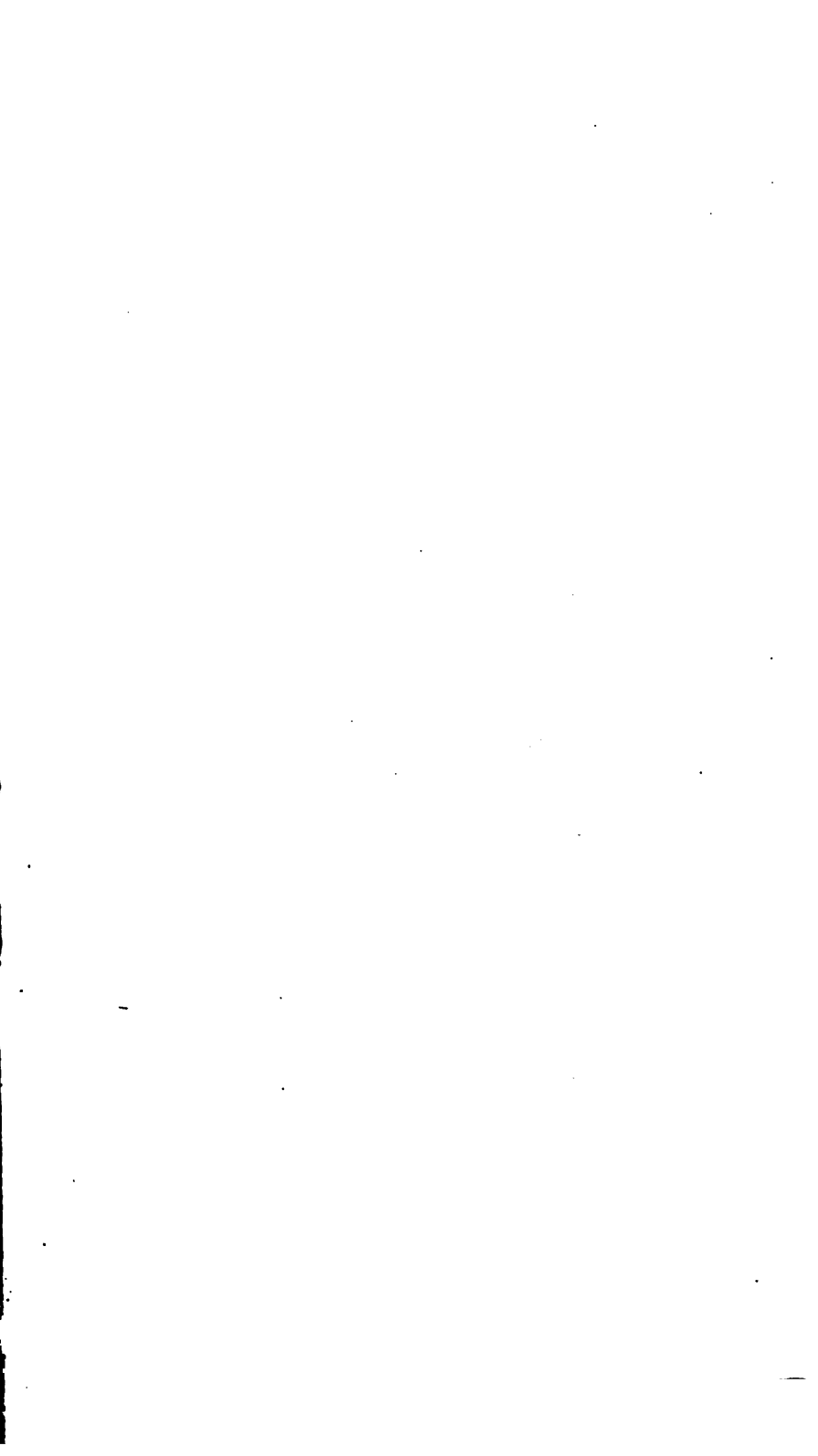
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